

MILO CLEVELAND BEACH — RAJPUT PAINTING AT BUNDI AND KOTA

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ARTIBUS ASIAE · PUBLISHERS · 6612 ASCONA · SWITZERLAND

Indira Gandhi National  
Centre for the Arts



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INSTITUTE OF FINE ARTS · NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

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Indira Gandhi National  
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MILO CLEVELAND BEACH

RAJPUT PAINTING  
AT BUNDI AND KOTA



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## ABBREVIATIONS

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## INTRODUCTION

Rajasthan, literally "the place of rajas" and now a division of the Republic of India, comprises many of what were known during the British Raj as the "Native States". These were small, formerly independent kingdoms whose rulers bore such evocative titles as Maharaja or Maharana, and visits to which were among the most cherished anecdotal *équipage* of the fashionable European traveller returning home from the East. The Rajasthani rulers, whatever their titles – and these were carefully ranked – were Rajputs ("sons of rajas"), a caste designation which indicated as well that they were warriors. The origin of the Rajputs is unknown, although it seems that they entered India from Central Asia through the passes of the northwest following the collapse of the Gupta dynasty in India in the fifth century. This is of no particular concern to us, for by the fifteenth century, when they began to patronize painting, the Rajputs were thoroughly Indian and well assimilated into the Hindu social structure. By this time, many families had established separate territories (Mewar, Marwar, Amber, and Bundi, among others) in the northwest of the subcontinent. Yet, while closely inter-related by both blood and marriage, they were constantly at war. Income from land was the sole source of wealth and power, and expansion of one's patrimony thus a constant occupation – prompting wars of succession and constant feuds over territorial boundaries. The rivalries were so deep-seated and intense, and Rajput power consequently so fragmented, that control of north India was easily taken over by a small band of Muslims, which entered from Central Asia early in the sixteenth century. The Muslims are known to us as the Mughals, presumably a corruption of the word Mongol, for the Mongol Genghiz Khan was a direct ancestor of the Mughal leader, Babur. It was not until after his grandson, Akbar, succeeded to the throne as Emperor in 1556, however, that the Mughals consolidated what Babur had originally won. Although only thirteen, Akbar instantly began to expand and strengthen his inheritance. The details whereby all of Rajasthan came under his sway need not occupy us here, although it should be remarked that initial Rajput reaction to Mughal overlordship – both political and cultural – ranged from enthusiastic acquiescence (as in the case of the Maharaja of Amber, whose daughter was married to the Emperor) to complete rejection (at Mewar, for example). Of those who accepted the Mughals, many took up residence at the imperial court, which generally centered on the Delhi-Agra area (northeast of Rajasthan), and served in the Mughal armies. The result of this was that their ideas as to what was fashionable – in the arts, as well as dress and etiquette – were modelled on the taste of their overlords, and this had immense consequences on Rajput art.

Our still very incomplete knowledge of the development of painting and its place in the cultural climate of north India prior to the time of the Mughal arrival is derived from a few

preserved manuscript pages;\* of wall-paintings, which certainly existed as well, no trace remains. There were several isolated styles, separable into the categories of Hindu (including the Western Indian, or Jain style), and Muslim. The latter, as provincial offshoots of Islamic painting in the Near East, are not of interest to us in this context, whereas the Hindu and Western Indian styles (which in some cases certainly had Rajput patronage) provide a standard against which to judge the development of Rajput art under Mughal influence. To characterize them briefly and jointly, they are based on instant visual impact, with strongly defined, generalized forms, and intense, bright colors put in the service of usually religious subject matter. Nothing could contrast more completely with the mature taste of the Mughals.

Babur's son, Humayun, Akbar's father and predecessor, is credited with the actual establishment of workshops of painters at the Mughal court, for he brought to India at least two artists whose reputations had been established in the service of the Persian Shah Tahmasp. Yet it was Akbar who gave those painters, and others brought from all over India to serve under them, the intensity of a personal and self-confident interest denied to Humayun by his early death. Akbar's involvement quickly turned Mughal painting in a direction different from existent Persian or Indian styles. For he demanded that his artists explore the natural world, thus introducing new subject matter (e. g. portraiture, animal studies, historical narrative) and a new concern for visual reality. Several further factors determined the development of Mughal painting during the late sixteenth century: the increasing maturity of Akbar and the changes in his taste in the arts; the growing wealth of the imperial treasures, which was reflected in the burgeoning opulence of court life; the strength of Mughal political power; and the inevitably developing independence of Mughal painting from its stylistic forebearers. The result was a unique, self-assured, and thoroughly aristocratic art, subtle in its effect, and highly refined in technique and materials. The interplay of Mughal taste with that of the Rajputs is an obvious basis for any study of Rajput painting. Yet even more than the introduction of new styles and subjects, the Mughals, simply because of their passion for painting, aroused in the Rajput chiefs similar enthusiasms. It is doubtful, at best, whether Rajput art would have developed to any important extent at all without Mughal example.

Rajput painting in its purest form is pre-Mughal in date, and arose out of the folk styles of painting which served as repositories for certain characteristics found in the declining phases of the evolution of Buddhist, Hindu, and Jain wall-paintings in the first millennium A. D. It is thus deeply rooted in Indian traditions, and drew away from this basis only under the attraction of Mughal taste. Mughal painting had no such place within a cultural continuum. Like a hot-house hybrid, it was a product of conscious synthesis, dependant on the vagaries of the Emperor and the atmosphere of the empire for sustenance. And, like the Mughal Empire, it eventually wilted. Yet this is not the case for Rajput art. Once Mughal example was removed, Rajput painting allowed its original and basic traits – never completely abandoned – to again dominate. Strong, boldly designed paintings reappear in great quantity, often with an exaggeration of such Mughal concerns as human emotion or fineness of technique, giving to these traits an intensity and impact equal to that which the Rajputs demanded from form and color.

Rajasthan itself is a land of enormous physical variety, ranging from the sand deserts of

\* A list of relevant manuscripts and a bibliography are given in *GTP*, pp. 115–16, nos. 1–3.

Jaisalmer and Marwar in the northwest, to the jungle-clad hills of Kota in the southeast. Onto this terrain palaces and fortresses, hunting lodges, pleasure pavillions, and artificial lakes were placed in extraordinary profusion – and these serve the present-day visitor both as a vivid evocation of the historical past and, in contrast to the simple mud villages which have surrounded them for centuries, as means to place the life of the Rajput rulers into a perspective that must not be overlooked.

Each state was under the hereditary rule of a particular Rajput family, and those members denied the throne would usually receive a land grant (e.g. a *thikana*, similar to a barony) within the family domains, although they could attempt to claim territory elsewhere and set up a new state. While at first only ruling chiefs patronized painting, by the eighteenth century anyone with land and a title felt it obligatory to employ painters. This produced a bewildering number of styles and sub-styles which do not necessarily follow political or family divisions, as we shall see. The purpose of this study, limited in scope, is to investigate one group of closely related schools, centered on the states of Bundi and Kota; and to extract those works for which definite evidence of provenance is available, placing them in a relative sequence, defined by means of dated paintings.

## PAINTING AT BUNDI

All the palaces in India, excepting the dead ones, like Amber, are full of eyes. In some, as has been said, the idea of being watched is stronger than in others. In Boondi Palace, it was overpowering – being far worse than in the green-shuttered corridors of Jodhpur. There were trap-doors at the tops of terraces, and windows veiled in foliage, and bulls'-eyes set low in unexpected walls, and many other peep-holes and places of vantage ...

Rudyard Kipling (1887)<sup>1</sup>

The small Rajput kingdoms of Bundi and Kota, in southeastern Rajasthan, were ruled by cousins, different branches of the Hara clan. The history of the family, an offshoot of the prominent Chauhan dynasty, can be extended back to the eighth century, for its members were among those who defended the subcontinent against the first Muslim invaders. It seems only to have been in the mid-thirteenth century, however, that they seized the lands which were to become known as Bundi State. According to the English historian James Tod,<sup>2</sup> it was then that Rao Deva Hara defended a group of the tribal *minas* of the area from the molestations of his Rajput relative, Rao Gango Khichi, whose descendants eventually built their power on lands adjoining Bundi along the Chambal River, and whom we shall encounter later as patrons of painting. Deva's motives are suspect, however, for he himself subsequently slaughtered the *minas* and took their lands; while his grandson, Jait Singh, used similar tactics to extend the territories to include present-day Kota. Returning from a visit to the nearby village of Kaithun, he passed an encampment near the Chambal of another tribal group, the *bbils*, whom he attacked and destroyed, claiming their district and holding it semi-independently of Bundi. In such ways Rajput families built their power, for these lands remained the nucleus of the Hara patrimony. Jait Singh's son, Surjan Singh, erected the original defensive walls at Kota, and his son, in turn, excavated the large artificial lake, or tank, east of the town, providing both a major area for recreation, and the chief cause of Kota's notoriously malarious climate. The ouster of a later Kota chief, an opium addict, by two Muslim adventurers, and the return of Kota to direct Bundi control (where it remained until 1625); the rivalries of Rao Surajmal of Bundi and the Rana of Chitor, brothers-in-law, each of whom murdered the other; and the deposition of Rao Surtan, the devotee of a deity pacified only by human sacrifices, form colorful, if almost incredible, passages in Tod's marvellous *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*. It is under the rule

<sup>1</sup> Rudyard Kipling, *From Sea to Sea*, vol. i, p. 182.

<sup>2</sup> Much of the information about early Bundi history is derived from Tod, *The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*. The dates given in that work are notoriously inaccurate, however, so that we have used the more recent and reliable chronologies of Mathura Lal Sharma and Jagdish Singh Gahlot for both Bundi and Kota. These often differ significantly from those of Tod and T. Holbein Hendley, and clarify chronological discrepancies in their texts.

of Rao Surjan II (r. 1554–85), however, that historical events are of immediate interest to our study of painting.

### *The Chunar RAGAMALA*

As we noted in the Introduction, the Mughal Emperor Akbar succeeded his father Humayun in 1556, and quickly became the most powerful force in north India. He consolidated and extended his inheritance not by the imposition of an Islamic system on the predominantly Hindu country, but by alliances with the various regional leaders, secular and religious. Bundi, a state then of only modest political and economic pretensions, gave him its allegiance in 1569, with the forfeiture of the coveted Rinthambhor Fort, until the mid-eighteenth century a leading Mughal stronghold. In return, the Haras were granted suitable distinctive privileges: they could enter the imperial *darbar* (audience) fully armed, for example, and were exempt from the usual practice of sending a princess to the royal harem. The title *rao raja* was conferred upon Surjan Singh, as well as a residence in the holy city of Benares. Slightly later, in 1576, he was granted the district of Chunar, near Benares, as his *jagir* (land allotment),<sup>3</sup> a fact we must remember later. Tod wrote that Surjan "resided at his government of Benares, and by his piety, wisdom, and generosity, benefited the empire ... he beautified and ornamented the city, especially the quarter where he resided, and eighty-four edifices, for various purposes, and twenty baths, were constructed under his auspices. He died there ..."<sup>4</sup> Nothing remains in Benares that can be identified positively with these constructions, and Bundi *ghat*, the site of his palace, is now rubble. Nonetheless, he quite clearly participated in the enormous re-awakening of interest in the arts during Akbar's reign, and as a direct result of his place in the Mughal system.

Surjan was succeeded by his son, Bhoj Singh (r. 1585–1607), about whom historians have provided little information, but whose face is familiar through a group of later drawings, including hunting scenes inscribed with his name (e.g. fig. 86).<sup>5</sup> It is possible that he is portrayed as well in a dispersed *Ragamala* series (figs. 1 and 2),<sup>6</sup> the first paintings we can confidently ascribe to a Hara patron. These are of great importance not only to the chronology of Bundi painting, but to our interpretation of Rajasthani, or even Indian, painting as a whole. Its connection with Bundi, first noted by Pramod Chandra,<sup>7</sup> is evident. The *Ragamala* text, a formally catalogued series of relationships between a man and woman, in origin metaphorical of the soul's relation to the divine, is the single most popular traditional subject for illustration in the various Rajput schools, and several distinctive series of compositions were developed in different workshops. The majority of artists within the Bundi-Kota sphere of influence simply copied and recopied one set of compositions, and their *Ragamalas* remained virtually unchanged in layout over a period of at least two hundred years. The earliest known formulation of these distinctive scenes, which are found unaltered in no other school, is seen in the *Ragamala* under discussion.

<sup>3</sup> *Maathir*, vol. ii, p. 918.

<sup>4</sup> Tod, vol. ii, p. 384.

<sup>5</sup> Several major works from Kota in the mid-eighteenth century are inscribed with the name of Rao Bhoj, or of his son, Hurda Narayan. The latter is found on a painting of a prince "rising from a well of flame", in the Stuart C. Welch Collection. Hurda Narayan may have been popular at Kota since, as Tod wrote, "he held Kota in a separate grant from the king during fifteen years" (Tod, vol. ii, p. 385, note 2). The popularity of Rao Bhoj is unexplained.

<sup>6</sup> References are given in GTP, p. 116, no. 5.

<sup>7</sup> *Bundi*, pp. 1–3.

It is the style of the series, however, that is most informative. Although it clearly anticipates mature Bundi paintings of about 1680 (e.g. fig. 32), the vertical format and the proportion of the pages, as well as the border decorations of arabesques and cartouches, directly reflect Mughal practice. Pre-Mughal *Ragamalas* are known, but these are exclusively of horizontal or squarish format,<sup>8</sup> as is the hitherto earliest unquestionably Rajasthani *Ragamala*, the famous and well-published set painted at Chawand, in Mewar, in 1605. The painters of the Bundi series were certainly aware of these earlier traditions, from which they drew the basic compositional relationships of their figures.<sup>9</sup> Yet around these they created illustrations of much greater complexity, and more evocative, in visual terms, of the related texts. The formal vocabulary and technical skills that allowed them to achieve this had been developed earlier by the painters of the Mughal workshops, to whose preoccupation with carefully observed details drawn from the natural world can be attributed this *Ragamala's* scenes of sunset or dawn, with naturalistically convincing skies; or the landscapes and forest scenes, with lush jungle vegetation and sympathetically drawn animal life. This alone instantly places the *Ragamala* heavily in the debt of the Mughals, by whom such interests were restored to the painting of north India; and we can further relate it to specific works.

It is similar, for example, to unpublished pages from a *Tuti-nama* manuscript, the greater part of which is in the Library of Sir Chester Beatty, Dublin, and the date of which has been generally accepted as circa 1580; common elements, first noted by Stuart C. Welch, include both compositions and figure types.<sup>10</sup> It is close as well to figures on a page from an imperial *Diwan* of Anwari, dated 1588, in the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University (fig. 3),<sup>11</sup> and to those on selected folios of a *Ramayana* manuscript in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington. D.C.<sup>12</sup> This latter is dated by a colophon between 1589 and 1598, and was made by artists in the employ of 'Abdu-r Rahim, the Khan Khanan, the leading noble of Akbar's court. Folio 19 recto, reproduced in fig. 4, shows a group of singing girls attempting to entice the youth Rshyashringa and is among the few really marvellous pages. A comparison of details from it (fig. 5) and the *Ragamala* (fig. 6) show striking similarities: fattish faces of similar shape, with prominently modelled cheeks; the stance of the figures and their gestures; and the balloonlike breasts, decorated with concentric patterns painted in darker orange on the orange *cholis* (blouses). The latter is a specific characteristic of pre-Mughal Rajput painting,<sup>13</sup> the source as well of certain archaisms in the *Ragamala* figures which distinguish them readily from their counterparts in the Mughal manuscripts mentioned: the more angular profile and large, intense eye, as well as the strong outlining of both details. This type of figure, while common in early Mughal painting, which took it over directly from pre-Mughal schools, became increasingly less acceptable to the Emperor's more assured taste in the late sixteenth century. This was a time, as well, when painters who could not keep pace with the rapidly evolving Mughal style were released from the ateliers to seek work elsewhere.

<sup>8</sup> See Anand Krishna, "An Early *Ragamala* Series", *Ars Orientalis* IV (1961).

<sup>9</sup> E.g. compare *ibid.*, fig. 14, with fig. 32 here, the latter based on the Chunar composition for "Vilavali Ragini".

<sup>10</sup> The manuscript was unfortunately not available for photography. References to published pages are given in *Hera-monek*, p. 140, no. 193. See also: Stuart C. Welch, "Review: *Bundi Painting*", *Ars Orientalis* V (1963).

<sup>11</sup> Other pages from this manuscript have been published in Stuart C. Welch, *The Art of Mughal India*, plates 4A-D.

<sup>12</sup> Richard Ettinghausen, *Paintings of the Sultans and Emperors of India*, plates 3 and 4, and accompanying text.

<sup>13</sup> See L. Shiveswarkar, *The Pictures of the Chaurapanchasika*, New Delhi: National Museum, 1967.

Although primarily of Mughal inspiration, the *Ragamala*, then, differs from imperial commissions through the same characteristics which define, in part, sub-imperial Mughal painting: a stronger, more earthy palette and rougher pigments, greater archaisms of figure type and less animated and varied facial expressions, and a less finely painted finish. Yet these traits, again typical of pre-Mughal painting, are adopted in the *Ragamala* only as they had been understood and adapted by the Emperor's painters. This is important, for unlike painting at the neighboring Rajput state of Mewar, which seems to consist of a strong pre-Mughal tradition upon which Mughal painting only gradually forced its influence, the *Ragamala* series is a direct offshoot of the Mughal style.

The earliest known work of sub-imperial Mughal painting, to which we now turn to clarify further the position of the *Ragamala*, is the *Ramayana* made for the Khan Khanan between 1589–98 (fig. 4). It contains 130 illustrations which differ greatly in type and quality, ranging from very few pages of almost imperial calibre to a majority of slipshod, badly executed scenes. In general, these differ from contemporary imperial historical manuscripts by the greater simplicity in composition and the use of color, the relative lack of intricate, rich detail drawing, and the lessened interest in naturalism, whether of vegetation, animals, or people. These traits are developed further in a dispersed *Razm-nama* manuscript (figs. 7 and 12) painted in 1616 by several of the same artists that worked on the *Ramayana*.<sup>14</sup> In this case, however, we cannot be certain of their patron. The *Maathir-i-Rahimi*, the biography of the Khan Khanan written in 1616, states that by that time his painters had dispersed.<sup>15</sup> But the *Razm-nama* indicates that this sub-imperial style had developed the idiosyncratic traits found occasionally in the *Ramayana* into a distinctive vocabulary and series of formulae, and that it was by then of sufficient strength to evolve independently of, but not uninfluenced by, the Emperor's painters. For while such folios as 19 recto of the *Ramayana* (fig. 4) are close to the imperial Anwari of 1588 (fig. 3), and thus may be among the earliest pages of the manuscript, many of the leaves are inter-changeable in style with the 1616 *Razm-nama*;<sup>16</sup> in these such contemporary imperial concerns as psychological portraiture are ignored for a broader, more decorative approach, a mixture of high Mughal style with indigenous Rajput traits.

We shall mention again below works related to the artist Salivahana, whose paintings dated 1610 (fig. 16) and 1624 (fig. 15) were made at Agra, and further develop some traits seen in the *Ramayana* and *Razm-nama*.<sup>17</sup> As we shall see, the Salivahana series is directly related to painting of the mid and later seventeenth century in Rajasthan (especially at Bundi and Mewar). It is therefore to the earliest phase of the development of the sub-imperial tradition that the *Ragamala* most directly relates, for it is clearly to folio 19 recto of the Freer manuscript, and to other works of the late 1580s, that its resemblances are strongest.

<sup>14</sup> For references see Stuart C. Welch, "Mughal and Deccani Paintings from a Private Collection", *Arts Orientalis V* (1963), pp. 228–230. Common painters, according to the few marginal inscriptions that remain, include Fazl, Kamal, and Yusuf Ali.

<sup>15</sup> I am grateful to Robert Skelton for this information.

<sup>16</sup> See Welch, op.cit., p. 229, where this was first noted.

<sup>17</sup> See also Pramod Chandra, "Ustad Salivahana and the Development of Popular Mughal Art", *Lalit Kala 8* (October 1960). Good accounts of this phase of Mughal painting are given both there and in the same author's "A Series of Ramayana Paintings of the Popular Mughal School", *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, no. 6 (1957–58).

One page from the *Ragamala*, in an anonymous Indian collection, bears on its verso an inscription in Persian, written in blue ink. It reads:

He is God – may he be exalted!  
The book Rag-mala was ready (on)  
the day of Wednesday  
at the time of the mid-day prayer,  
in the place of Chunar, the work  
of the pupils  
of Mir Sayyid 'Ali Nadir u'l Mulk  
Humayunshahi, and Khwaja 'Abdu's Samad  
Shirin Qalam, the slave Shaykh Hasan  
and Shaykh 'Ali and Shaykh Hatim (?)  
son of  
Shaykh Phul (Bhul) Chishti; written on  
the date of the 29th of the month  
Rabi' u'l Akhir, year 999 (= 1591 A.D.)  
Written by  
the slave  
Da'ud son of Sayyid Jiv.<sup>17</sup>

The inscription, which will be much debated, in no way changes our interpretation of the set; in fact, it confirms the general source of the style, this particular work's provincial provenance, and its date. The artists are listed as being pupils of the two most famous Akbari masters, a "flamboyance" condemned by one critic,<sup>18</sup> but probably simply implying that they were at one time in the imperial studios. Both their manner of painting and the quality of their work makes this perfectly feasible. The title used for Mir Sayyid 'Ali was unknown in this form until recently, when it came to light on a portrait unquestionably by the artist and now in the collection of Edwin Binney III, Brookline, Massachusetts.<sup>19</sup> One of the painters, Shaykh Hatim, is given as the son of Shaykh Phul, presumably the Chishti saint known to us through a painting of his house at Agra by the Jahangiri artist Bishen Das.<sup>20</sup> We may speculate that Agra was Shaykh Hatim's home as well, and this would be consistent with our knowledge of Agra as a leading center for sub-imperial art. Finally, that Chunar was given to Rao Surjan as *jagir* by Akbar in 1576 has been mentioned. Surjan died in 1585, however, and was succeeded by his son Bhoj, whose relation to Chunar is unclear, although he definitely retained the family residence at nearby Benares. Chunar is known to have had wall-paintings. Bishop Heber, who visited the fort in 1824, remarks in his *Narrative* on the remains of painting and carving he saw in an "old

<sup>17</sup> I am very much indebted to Simon Digby, School of African and Oriental Studies, University of London, for the translation.

<sup>18</sup> Rajput Miniatures (from the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd), Portland, Oregon: Portland Art Museum, 1968, p. 25.

<sup>19</sup> Ernst Grube, *The Classic Style in Islamic Painting*, ...: Edizioni Oriens, 1968, p. 202 and fig. 90.

<sup>20</sup> Now in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares; see N.C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, Bombay: Tareporevala Sons and Co., 1926, pp. 89–92 and plate 37.

Hindoo palace",<sup>21</sup> although there is no reason to assume that these related to the Bundi residents.

A few additional works exist which indicate that the *Ragamala* was not an isolated production. Finest among these is a night hunting scene (*fig. 8*), a subject which later became especially popular at Kota, and which here shows a hunter perched in a tree, defending himself from the attack of a wounded tiger.<sup>22</sup> The figure types closely resemble those of the Chunar set with their solidly modelled faces, although here there is a more obvious attempt at specific characterization, in keeping with the work's nature as portraiture. The quieter details of the vegetation: creepers entwining the tree-trunk, the long green flowering tendrils (drawn in darker green against the green background), or the animation of the ground with small spots of color, provide a rewarding contrast to the central episode. In addition, as noted by S.C. Welch,<sup>23</sup> these relate the scene to works by the Khan Khanan's painters, in particular to a published page by Fazl (*fig. 7*), from the 1616 *Razm-nama*.

We should note also a large set of drawings (*fig. 9*) in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares; rapid, rather crude sketches that seem to be contemporary with the 1591 series. It is expected that they will be published in the near future by Anand Krishna. A group of *Ragamala* drawings of various dates (*fig. 10*) in the National Museum of India, New Delhi, is based on the Chunar iconography, and helps to chart the transition of that early series into the more standard Bundi types. Several of these, the importance of which was first published by Pramod Chandra,<sup>24</sup> can be dated to the early seventeenth century, and this includes the page reproduced. Finally, a further important source for paintings of this period is the present collection of Motichand Khajanchi, Bikaner.

#### *The Kota Museum BHAGAVAT*

A second manuscript, of equal importance to our consideration of the formative years of Bundi painting, is an unfinished and uninscribed *Bhagavata Purana*, forty illustrations of which are in the Museum at Kota (*figs. 11 and 13*), and one illustration each in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and the Nasli and Alice Heeramanek Collection.<sup>25</sup> It is closely related to Mughal works, as shown again by the size and proportions of the pages, the attempted natural landscape settings, lively and expressive facial types, and court scenes with figures placed in the Mughal manner. Yet, like the sub-imperial works we have discussed, the pages show a strong element of what we have equated with Rajput taste, in the anti-naturalistic placement of the color and the use of unbroken areas of solid color for backgrounds, the occasional rectangular compartmentalization of the compositions, and the use of definite pre-established formulae for

<sup>21</sup> Reginald Heber, *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India*, London: John Murray, 1828, vol. i, p. 407.

<sup>22</sup> See *GTP*, p. 117, no. 11 for references.

<sup>23</sup> Stuart C. Welch, "Review: Bundi Painting", *Ars Orientalis V* (1963), pp. 293-294.

<sup>24</sup> *Bundi*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>25</sup> The Victoria and Albert Museum page, which shows Krishna holding Mount Govardhan (but which is iconographically different from other known versions of the theme), is unpublished (acc. no. I.S. 150-1949). The Heeramanek page is published in Heeramanek, p. 122 and no. 149, where it was misattributed by the author to Mewar. The size of both illustrations conforms exactly to the pages still at Kota, as do the borders of the page in London. The Heeramanek page has been remounted. Presumably other pages also left the royal collections before the remainder were given to the museum at Kota. One page is illustrated in Barrett and Gray, p. 141.

such details as faces and trees. Close analogies to certain pages from the *Bhagavat* (e.g. fig. 13) can be found in the *Razm-nama* of 1616, in particular a scene showing Bikhya approaching the sleeping Chandrahasa (fig. 12), by the painter Abdullah, in the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>26</sup> The placement of the figures in the landscape, the disposition of the fan-leaved plantains, and the enlivenment of the ground with clumps of various creepers and small, brightly colored flowering plants of identical type and form, is similar in each. In addition, the curiously formed heads seen in such *Razm-nama* pages as that reproduced in fig. 7, looking rather as if their tops had been sliced off, and which are seen in other sub-imperial manuscripts of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (especially those associated with the Khan Khanan's painters),<sup>27</sup> are found occasionally in the *Bhagavat* as well. And finally, the tree trunks are often strangely patterned, a flat and decorative equivalent for the modelling found in, for example, the Freer *Ramayana* (fig. 4).

There are, naturally, differences also: the brighter, clearer palette of the Kota Museum work, which makes it more akin to later sub-imperial and Rajasthani styles, and the somewhat less angular figure types (fig. 14). These latter relate directly to figures in a *Salibhadra Caritra* manuscript, painted in 1624 by Salivahana (fig. 15),<sup>28</sup> and they, in turn, become the basic formulae for the standard type found in paintings attributable to Bundi proper in the later seventeenth century (compare the women in fig. 14 with those of fig. 32). This is shown through their similarity of proportion and shape, in the modelling, and in the grouping of the figures in mass. An earlier work by Salivahana, a ceremonial letter (*vijnapatipatr*) painted under commission from a community of Jains, was executed in 1610 at Agra (fig. 16).<sup>29</sup> The figures in this work have smaller features and more angular profiles and postures than those of the 1624 book, and in this regard are directly comparable to those in the 1616 *Razm-nama* (compare figs. 16 and 7). What all this indicates to us is that the *Bhagavat*, through the Salivahana paintings, can be seen as one logical evolution of certain traits associated with the sub-imperial paintings made for the Khan Khanan; and that enough works remain to convince us of the continuity of the style.

The 1610 *vijnapatipatr* was made at Agra, according to its colophon, and we may therefore suppose that the *Salibhadra Caritra* was as well. It is not known where the *Ramayana* was made, although the Khan Khanan had a *jagir* at Bhilsa, in Gwalior State,<sup>30</sup> and he may have kept his artists there. It is equally possible that when his workshops were disbanded, some of the painters went to the nearby capital area, Agra, which had earlier attracted artists left behind when Akbar moved his court from Fathepur-Sikri, twenty-three miles outside Agra, to Lahore in 1584. Such documents as the Salivahana works allow us to relate without question at least one branch of the sub-imperial style to Agra, which thus locates geographically one possible stylistic source of the *Bhagavat* paintings. It is interesting to recall that at least one of the Chunar series' painters may have come from there as well.

But what is the relation of the *Bhagavat* to Bundi? We have seen that certain later Bundi figure types can be traced to that manuscript. There are other facial formulae, however, that seem to be personal variations on the main type - executed by different artists, for several hands

<sup>26</sup> W. G. Archer, *Indian Miniatures*, plate 24 (in color).

<sup>27</sup> See the illustrations in the articles listed in note 16, as well as Stooke and Khandalavala, *The Laud Ragamala Miniatures*, Oxford: 1953.

<sup>28</sup> See note 16.

<sup>29</sup> See note 16. <sup>30</sup> Maathir, vol. i, p. 53.

were involved in the preparation of the *Bhagavat*. Douglas Barrett has rightly pointed out that this repertoire is the basis for the divergent figure types found in several quite distinct sets often attributed to Bundi,<sup>31</sup> but not found in other schools. There is as well a virtual identity of color with such paintings as the work dated 1662 in the Bharat Kala Bhavan (fig. 17),<sup>32</sup> which, as we shall see below, is intimately involved in the Bundi sequence: they share the use of large areas of white and light green, and the device of formally laid-out gardens, a common Bundi feature which is not used in the same manner in such close contemporary schools as that of Mewar.

It thus seems that while the origin of the *Bhagavat* was sub-imperial Mughal painting, the influence it exerted was on Rajasthan, and on Bundi in particular. And while we cannot confidently give the work an exact date, the usual designation of about 1640 correctly expresses its transitional role between earlier and later inscriptionally dated works. This would indicate that the patron was almost certainly Rao Chattar Sal of Bundi (r. 1631–58), who we know was given the position of Governor of Agra for most of his life,<sup>33</sup> a circumstance that would easily explain (and perhaps even demand) Agra elements in any works he commissioned; for it would most likely have been in that city that his artists were stationed.

These two manuscripts have given us much new information on the history of painting in Rajasthan during the initial years of Mughal supremacy. The Chunari *Ragamala* must now be recognized as the first set attributable to a specific Rajput patron, and we can therefore no longer hold the popular view that Mewar State developed the earliest and most influential Rajasthani style, or, more pertinently, that it was the inspiration for the evolution of painting at Bundi, ideas we have rejected for other reasons as well. That this source can be traced to the sub-imperial Mughal schools has been independently indicated by both manuscripts discussed. It is also interesting that an only indirect relation between the *Ragamala* and the *Bhagavat* seems now to exist, for the strongest common features are their equal connection with sub-imperial styles, and their roles as sources for later paintings from Bundi. This suggests that, during the early years, the Bundi rulers did not have a sufficiently self-contained workshop to develop a distinctive style resistant to strong external influence, a situation which changes with the execution of the *Bhagavat*. Yet we are able here to document clearly one change of interest, attitude, and opportunity possible when a Rajput chief was given a share of power, even when small, within the Mughal Empire, for there is no stylistic or historical evidence that painting was patronized by the Bundi rulers before the late sixteenth century. Needless to say, such changes occurred in all spheres of their activity and thought. We also learn that the term “Rajasthani painting” has no necessary reference to geographical provenance, but simply to the allegiance of the patrons. Until the eighteenth century, the Bundi rulers, like most other Rajput rulers, spent little time actually in Bundi – rather, they might be stationed by the Emperor in any part of his domain, and were often removed from their homelands simply to separate them from their bases of power. As we have seen, such relocations could substantially determine the style of the paintings the post made it possible to commission. If, for example, another state had been given the *jagir* of Chunari, or the Governorship of Agra, the history of painting at Bundi would undoubtedly have been very different.

<sup>31</sup> Barrett and Gray, p. 145.

<sup>32</sup> Illustrated in color in Barrett and Gray, p. 146.

<sup>33</sup> Tod, vol. ii, p. 387.

Rao Chattar Sal, in whose reign we place the Kota Museum *Bhagavat*, was the great-grandson of Rao Bhoj, the proposed patron of the Chunar *Ragamala*. Bhoj's son, Ratan Singh, was among the nobles who defended the Emperor Jahangir (r. 1605–27) during the rebellion of the future Shah Jahan (r. 1628–58), "Ruler of the World". Ratan Singh's second son, Madhu Singh, served with his father, and for his bravery was rewarded by Jahangir with the territory of Kota, to be separated from Bundi and held as an independent state. Of Gopinath Singh, Chattar Sal's father, the *Maathir-ul-Umara* dispassionately reports that he "had a slender body, but was so strong that he could sit between two branches of a tree, each of them the thickness of the centre pole of an awning, and putting his foot on one, and his back against the other, part them asunder. As a result of these improper exertions he fell ill and died during his father's lifetime".<sup>34</sup> Chattar Sal thus succeeded his grandfather, and was installed as Rao of Bundi by Shah Jahan. In addition to the governorship of the imperial capital, which we mentioned, he was sent on expeditions to Balkh, Badakhshan, and Qandahar, and served under Prince Aurangzeb in the Deccan. He returned to Shah Jahan's service, however, when Aurangzeb began his revolt, and was killed defending the Emperor's intended successor, Dara Shikoh.

Chattar Sal's son, Bhaq Singh, ruled Bundi from 1659 to 1682, much of which time he too spent in the Deccan at Aurangabad, with his friend Prince Moazzam, the future Emperor Shah 'Alam. Niccolao Manucci, a Venetian adventurer, was in India during these years, and his memoirs recount an amusing meeting with the Hara prince.

Shah Alam had usually with him a Hindu prince called Bhau Singh, leader of twelve thousand horsemen and a vassal of the king. He served under the orders of Shah Alam. Noticing that he had ceased to come to court, being unwell, the prince sent me to visit him on his behalf, and to offer my services ... The rajah was already old, and was suffering from his lungs. The prince, however, directed me to observe him and reckon how long he might yet live. Bhau Singh received my visit but refused my services, and told me that if I gave him any medicines he would put them with the rest I saw there. He had a whole roomful. God might do with him according to His pleasure, but he would not take the medicines, beyond looking at them. All this care was because he was afraid of being poisoned ...<sup>35</sup>

That Bhaq Singh was an enthusiastic patron of painting is known from the large number of portraits of the ruler, and from dated or attributable works. The earliest of these is a well-known painting in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, showing a noble couple standing on a terrace watching pigeons (fig. 17).<sup>36</sup> It has on its reverse a long literary inscription which includes the date "samvat unni" (i.e. "year nineteen"), which has been commonly considered to mean Samvat (17)19, equal to 1662 A.D.<sup>37</sup> While by no means irrefutable, this is reasonable in terms of the chronological sequence in which the painting can be placed. The palette is chiefly based on clear and intense shades of blue, yellow, orange, and various greens, relieved by large areas of white to

<sup>34</sup> *Maathir*, vol. ii, p. 722.

<sup>35</sup> Niccolao Manucci, *Storia do Mogor* (translated by William Irvine), Calcutta: Editions Indian, 1966 (reprint), vol. ii, pp. 376–77.

<sup>36</sup> See note 32.

<sup>37</sup> See *Bundi*, p. 3; and Barrett and Gray, p. 145.

create an effect of coolness; and this, as well as the figure types, and the use and treatment of the three-quarter profile of the body, argues for the work's development out of the *Bhagavat* style. Of the faces, the central figures are painstakingly, if roughly, modelled with thin, parallel lines, while the female attendant is not modelled at all. The same traits are found in identical form in a second work attributable to the same artist at about the same time: a painting of a couple seated under a canopy and attended by two women, in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (fig. 18).<sup>38</sup> And two additional paintings in the National Museum of India, one of which is illustrated in fig. 19, must be considered part of this group as well, and equivalent in date, as their approach to shading is similarly tentative and experimental.

This unevenness of modelling, although now less extreme, is seen again in a painting in the Stuart C. Welch Collection, published as Bhao Singh of Bundi in the *zenana* (harem) garden (fig. 20).<sup>39</sup> It is not inscribed, however, and the identification must be considered tentative, if likely. A Mughal source for the subject has been noted elsewhere,<sup>40</sup> and we have remarked on similar compositions, and treatment of gardens, especially, in the Kota Museum *Bhagavat* (compare fig. 20 and fig. 11). As in the 1662 painting, long flowering streamers rise above the main areas of vegetation against the blue sky. The colors are richer and more subdued, however, an effect due in part to its less fresh condition, but also to a general movement away from the sub-imperial Mughal stylistic orientation.

The portrait in the Welch Collection, one of the most lyrical and atmospheric of all Bundi paintings, is a direct link between the Bharat Kala Bhavan page and related works (figs. 17-19), a continuation of the *Bhagavat* style, and the frequently published *Ladies in a Garden* (fig. 21)<sup>41</sup> in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. A work contemporary with the latter and by the same painter, showing Krishna holding up Mount Govardhan, is in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, and is reproduced here in fig. 22. The similarities of the illustration of Bhao Singh and the Bombay garden scene are particularly striking: the *mise-en-scene* of a formal garden, the type and composition of the flowers, and the figure types and their arrangement (e.g. the outward turned ladies at the left, or the rhythmic placement of the various heads). The greater richness of color in *Ladies in a Garden* and the illustration of Krishna, the somewhat firmer drawing and more controlled figure types, as well as the relation of the latter to eighteenth century types (compare figs. 36 and 37), suggest that these are later than the Bhao Singh portrait. It seems possible, moreover, that they are the work of the same painter, and that the earlier group, centering around the picture dated 1662, is by him as well. This is made most convincing by a comparison of details of the women's heads (figs. 23-25), which seem to show consistent personal stylistic eccentricities in, for example, the similar shapes of the profiles. To make the alleged closeness of the works more convincing, they can be contrasted with another painting of two ladies in a garden, also in the Prince of Wales Museum, and published by Pramod Chandra.<sup>42</sup> While similar in theme, it is utterly different in figure and vegetation types, and in its thinner composition. A second comparison can be made with a painting in the C.D. Gujarati Collection, Bombay,

<sup>38</sup> Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, No. 5 (1955-57), fig. 20.

<sup>39</sup> GTP, p. 68 and no. 19.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Bundi, plate 4 (in color).

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., plate 3 (in color).

(fig. 26) which seems to bear the date 1681.<sup>43</sup> The use of these works here, however, is simply to indicate other personal variants on the main Bundi style. There is not yet sufficient material at hand to document with complete confidence the development of these particular artists.

None of these works has inscriptive evidence of a Bundi origin, although this is suggested by their progression from the *Bhagavat* style, coupled with their similarity to innumerable inscribed portraits of Bundi rulers. One such work is presently important to us. Identified on the verso as Kunvar (Prince) Anurad Singh, grandson of a brother of the childless Bao Singh, whom he succeeded in 1682, it is dated 1680, and the painter's name is given: Tulchi Ram (fig. 27).<sup>44</sup> A second portrait in the same style, from the collection of Kunvar Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh, shows Bao Singh and is inscribed by the same hand as "the work of Tulchi".<sup>45</sup> While these are rather standard portraits, the figural formulae on which they have been based, and the use of shading, have much in common with *Ladies in a Garden*, sufficiently so to date the latter also ca. 1680. It must be remembered that since we may be dealing with different artists, it is difficult to set up an exact chronology on stylistic grounds alone. The Bombay *Ladies* and its counterpart may prove to be slightly later, for we have already noted in them the emergence of eighteenth century characteristics (e.g. the more rounded profile). In any case, the portrait of Bao Singh in the zenana garden (fig. 20) might be placed about 1670, this suggesting that the interpretation of the date of the Bharat Kala Bhavan painting (fig. 17) as 1661 is correct.

Of high quality, and certainly to be considered an official state portrait, is a painting first published by W.G. Archer, and identified by him as Rao Chattar Sal of Bundi with the Emperor Shah Jahan (fig. 28).<sup>46</sup> It is in the National Museum, New Delhi. The seated figure bears little resemblance to the Emperor, who is, moreover, very recognizably depicted in his old age in a simpler, but very similar, painting in the Baroda Museum, a work known only through very inadequate reproductions and a mis-read inscription.<sup>47</sup> The latter has been published by O.C. Gangoly as "Rava Amar Singhji", which he equates with Amar Singh of Mewar.<sup>48</sup> The titles of the rulers of Mewar was Rana, however, and under no circumstance would Rava (i.e. Rao) have been used. While it is futile to attempt to correct the reading of an inscription one has never seen, it is very possible, given the similarity of the *devanagari* script letters involved, that the name should be Rao Bao Singh. In any case, the Baroda work is certainly a Bundi painting, and if it does portray Bao Singh, whose depictions it resembles, it ought to be datable to 1658, the year

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., plate 1, and Barrett and Gray, p. 147 (both in color). A second painting by the same artist, showing Krishna with two gopis, is in the collection of Moti Chandra. The Gujarati work is inscribed on the reverse, and this was first read by Karl Khandalaval and published in "Five Bundi Paintings of the late 17th Century A.D.", *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, no. 5 (1955-57), p. 51 as: 1739 *davara Daudia* (translated: 1739 by - through - Daudia) and later accepted by Pramod Chandra. In *Lalit Kala* 8 (1960) correspondence from W.G. Archer gives the reading (supposedly corroborated by Sangram Singh and Gopi Krishna Kanoria) as: 1738 *dawarko Mira*. The inscription in fact reads: -738 *dawarko kia* and this can be confirmed by comparing the writing with other inscriptions seemingly made by the same scribe, e.g. the two paintings by Tulchi (see notes 44 and 45). One of these bears the date S. 1737 = 1680 at the very beginning of the inscription; and as the first letters of the Gujarati colophon are missing, there is good reason to suppose that they might refer to the date. In any case, the artist's name is not Daudia.

<sup>44</sup> The inscription reads, in part, *shatera tulchi ram no banai*, i.e. "made by Tulchi Ram". An incorrect later identification is written on the front.

<sup>45</sup> It reads: *Tulchi (ch)atera no banai*, i.e. "made by Tulchi".

<sup>46</sup> IPBK, fig. 2.

<sup>47</sup> O.C. Gangoly, *Critical Catalogue of Miniature Paintings in the Baroda Museum*, Baroda: Government Press, 1961, p. 83 and fig. xxiii (b).

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

of the Emperor's deposition and the Bundi chief's accession, an occasion which it may commemorate.

This information is important when judging the more accomplished work in the National Museum (fig. 28), for we cannot accept the identification of the seated figure as Shah Jahan, nor does he resemble the succeeding Emperor Aurangzeb. There is, in fact, no reason to assume that he is a Mughal, for, despite an imperial bearing, his 'jama' (jacket) is clearly tied in the Rajput fashion (i.e. on the left). It has been further suggested that the work shows Bhao Singh with his friend Prince Moazzam,<sup>49</sup> but this too must await further discoveries for verification.

The intense palette of the New Delhi painting, its technical polish, and fully developed Bundi character presume a considerable distance in time from the Kota Museum *Bhagavat*, and from the painting of 1662 as well. In this respect, it is similar to a work in the Gopi Krishna Kanoria Collection, Patna, which shows Rao Chattar Sal riding on the elephant Sundar Gaj, according to its inscription as given by Archer.<sup>50</sup> Both of these should be dated mainly in relation to a painting titled *Lovers Viewing a New Moon* (fig. 29)<sup>51</sup> in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. This has on the reverse a well-known inscription that seems to give the date 1688, and the painter's name: Mohan.<sup>52</sup> The traits noticed in the Kanoria and National Museum portraits are also here, and produce a work in which bright colors are placed to give maximum surface animation, changing a potentially hackneyed composition into one of considerable liveliness. A second work, uninscribed but almost certainly by Mohan as well as similarities of figure and tree types and overall patterning show, is in the Bharat Kala Bhavan (fig. 30). Its slightly harder, rather too brilliant surface may indicate a somewhat later date, perhaps about 1695. The differences of these works from the more robust paintings related to the Bombay garden scene are perhaps due as much to difference of artists as to those of the patron's intentions in having the works made.

We have made no mention of the different levels of production that certainly existed throughout the history of Rajput painting, a contrast akin in type to that of the imperial and sub-imperial Mughal schools. Rajput painting is by definition a court art, for neither the painters nor the citizenry of Rajasthan were of the ruling Rajput caste; but co-existent with it was a strong tradition of folk-painting, paintings made for ceremonial functions in the villages and inevitably religious in subject. Unlike their royal counterparts, however, these works were not privately hoarded, as marks of wealth and prestige. When the support aged, it was replaced – works on paper would be copied exactly, and walls would be replastered and colored, so that little true folk painting of an undeniably early date, and nothing specifically from Bundi, has survived. But what we do have are works of sufficiently modest pretensions and achievement and it would seem that their patrons were either lesser nobles or wealthy merchants. A *Ragamala* series, three pages of which are in the National Museum of India (fig. 31),<sup>53</sup> is among these. The composi-

<sup>49</sup> *GTP*, p. 119, no. 19.

<sup>50</sup> *IPBK*, fig. 3.

<sup>51</sup> *Bundi*, plate 2 (in color).

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, text for plate 2, and Khandalavalas, op. cit., p. 50, where the date is given as S. 1746 = 1689 A.D. Archer published the reading of Moti Chandra, S. 1749 = 1692 A.D. (*IPBK*, p. 5). We prefer to interpret the date as S. 1745 = 1688 A.D., again on the basis of distinctive characteristics of Rajasthani script.

<sup>53</sup> *Kabajanchi*, p. 83, no. 38 (not illustrated); fig. 41 shows a page in similar style of Krishna as butter-thief, now in the National Museum.

tions are not based on the Chunar set, but come from the noted *Ragamala* now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the gift of Bishop Laud.<sup>54</sup> Interestingly, the Laud manuscript is related in style to work of the Khan Khanan's painters, a group to which we have repeatedly referred.<sup>55</sup> The Kota Museum *Bhagavat*, however, has supplied landscape and tree types found in the Delhi *Ragamala* pages, although the figure types, while cruder, resemble those of paintings datable to about 1662 (e.g. fig. 19). The distinctive shading of the faces with heavy grey lines, producing in some cases an unattractively swarthy appearance or the effect of a badly blackened eye, seems simply an earlier phase of the characteristics of modelling we noted first in the dated Bharat Kala Bhavan page (fig. 17). It seems likely, then, that the painter of the dated page, or perhaps his immediate forebearer, was trained first in this less courtly manner, which he gradually overcame to bring his works closer to the higher demands of the royal workshop. While we cannot be sure of the patrons of this particular series, it would seem, for the reasons we have cited, that its date should be mid-seventeenth century. Somewhat later, but equally a development from this set, is a group of *Krishna-lila* paintings in the collection of Kunvar Sangram Singh.

Undoubtedly the best known Bundi *Ragamala* is the series of which a major group of pages is in the Kanoria Collection, others having been dispersed among various museums and private owners (fig. 32).<sup>56</sup> The compositions exactly follow the Chunar set, while the figure types are those of, for example, the National Museum portrait of Bhaos Singh (fig. 28). It differs from the portrait in qualitative level, however, with little or none of the brilliance and clarity of the state portrait. Comparing this series to the 1591 set (figs. 1 and 2) reveals quite drastic differences, all relevant to the generally decorative trend of Rajasthani art: the landscapes have lost their naturalism and sense of wildness, the trees are flat and crudely drawn, and the colors lack the function of modelling – they are simpler and more basic. In addition, there is far less variety in figure types, as if each face were drawn according to the exact same formula. As certain of the pages attributed to the set show these tendencies in even more extreme form, one is tempted to suggest that they are archaic leaves added later to replace pages lost or damaged, a common practice. It is also possible that we are dealing with more than one set, although we do not yet know of any duplication of subject. It would seem, from its similarities to the various portraits of the Bhaos Singh period and the Bombay painting of 1688 (fig. 29), that the Kanoria *Ragamala* can be dated about 1680, the usual designation.

A much more personal style is shown in two well-known and attractive paintings in the Kanoria Collection, and a third page published by Robert Skelton.<sup>57</sup> Among the most unusual aspects of this artist's very distinctive work are his pictorially lively drawing of the ground, resembling in our eyes the Japanese device for presenting a sea of waves; eccentrically patterned tree-trunks; and ladies with large heads and flabby profiles, derived directly from certain *Bhagavat* types.<sup>58</sup> The figures sufficiently resemble those of the Benares Mount Govardhan painting (fig. 22 and detail fig. 25) to argue that these also may be dated about 1680 rather than earlier, as has elsewhere been proposed.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Stooke and Khandalavalas, op. cit.

<sup>55</sup> Welch, "Mughal and Deccani Paintings...", *Ars Orientalis* V (1963), p. 229, first mentions this connection.

<sup>56</sup> See especially IPBK, figs. 6–11.

<sup>57</sup> Robert Skelton, *Miniature Indiana*, Venice: 1960, no. 14; Barrett and Gray, p. 144 (in color); IPBK, fig. 4.

<sup>58</sup> See note 31.

<sup>59</sup> See IPBK, p. 3, where they are termed "ca. 1665".

Yet another *Ragamala* series, published on several occasions as of Bundi provenance, has been dispersed among several collections (fig. 33).<sup>60</sup> Again of the standard compositional type, it nonetheless has several distinctive, if less appealing, traits: fish-shaped eyes, often with the pupils surrounded by white, to give an extraordinarily intense effect; bulging cheeks; and heavy black lines around the architecture, or even outlining birds flying in the sky. Prototypes for these figures, too, are found in the *Bhagavat*, as Barrett stated.<sup>61</sup> There they are in less extreme form, however; and, as in the pages mentioned above, this seems another merely personal development of the standard Bundi type. This judgement is buttressed by a curious portrait, showing a standing man against a green background (fig. 34), a powerful, if somewhat rustic, equivalent of the Mughal portrait convention. While the style is not that of the *Ragamala* pages, such details as the shape and modelling of the head (especially the eye and cheek) seem to lead into it. The portrait is inscribed above with the name of Rao Chattar Sal and, presuming as we do that it is reliable, it is the most individual depiction we know of the ruler. Its relation to the more central Bundi corpus is uncertain.

### *The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*

In 1708 the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb died after a rule of half a century, during which time imperial authority, as well as its monetary base, were badly diminished. Within twenty-two years there were five successors to the throne, none of them in the least praiseworthy. An Afghan adventurer, Nadir Shah, invaded and sacked Delhi in 1739 and carried off tremendous booty, leaving behind a penniless and impotent Empire. The affairs of Bundi in these years are well-documented, intimately related to our understanding of Bundi painting, and therefore worth a somewhat lengthy recounting.<sup>62</sup>

Budh Singh gained the Bundi throne on the death of his father Anurad Singh, Bhao Singh's successor, in 1702. He sided with Prince Moazzam in the battle for succession following Aurangzeb's death, and as a reward was granted fifty-four forts, including that of Kota. The Kota chief, Bhim Singh, whose father Ram Singh I had died defending Moazzam's brother and rival, A'zam Shah (who had in turn promised Bundi Fort to Kota), naturally refused to evacuate his patrimony. By intrigues at the Mughal court, Bhim Singh managed not only to retain Kota, but had Budh Singh ousted from Bundi, although he was subsequently reinstated by a later Emperor, Farrukhsiyar, in 1715. This rather futile and involved series of manoeuvres, by no means either unique or irregular and well-expressing the interests of eighteenth century Rajas than, is surpassed by the cascade of intrigues that dominates Bundi history until the middle of the century, and the result of which is very much our concern.

In 1729, Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh of Amber (Jaipur), by far the most ambitious and powerful Rajput noble of the time, sought to make personal advantage of the collapsing Mughal Empire and the internal dissensions of his fellow Rajput chiefs. He arranged to have Budh Singh of Bundi, although a brother-in-law, removed from his throne and replaced, by imperial decree,

<sup>60</sup> See also *Khajanchi*, no. 34a and fig. 40; and Barrett and Gray, p. 142 (in color).

<sup>61</sup> See note 31.

<sup>62</sup> Useful historical information is given in Sarkar, *The Fall of the Mughal Empire*, vol. i, pp. 155ff.

by a puppet ruler under Jaipur's control: Dalel Singh, the second son of Salim Singh of Karwar,<sup>63</sup> a minor Hara noble. Budh Singh was never permanently restored to power, an important but hitherto ignored fact, although he briefly regained control of his state on several occasions. One of these was to have important repercussions throughout Rajasthan. In 1734 he was joined by Pratap Singh, the embittered elder brother of the Karwar pretender, who had been given funds by Budh Singh's queen and sent south to the Deccan to enlist the help of the Marathas (a coalition of local chieftains also preying on the dying Mughal Empire). He returned with Malhar Rao Holkar and Ranoji Sindhi, whose forces attacked Bundi and carried off Salim Singh, acting as his son's regent, for the payment of six *lakhs* of rupees and a public proclamation by the Hara queen that Holkar "the goat-herd's son (was) the brother of a princess of the solar line that claimed descent from Ramchandra".<sup>64</sup> Upon the Deccanis' departure, however, Jaipur retook Bundi and Budh Singh retired to Begun (in Mewar State), the home of a second wife, steeped himself in opium and alcohol, and died insane. But 1734 remains important as the date of the Marathas' first entry into Rajasthan, for it was the Marathas, more than any other group, that determined the future history of that province.

The events of the next few years present a picture of extremely complex detail. Jai Singh of Amber died in 1743, four years after the sack of Delhi, and was succeeded by his son, Ishwari Singh. This caused another son, Madho Singh, to espouse the Bundi cause in rivalry. Budh Singh Hara's son, Umed Singh (r. 1739–70), aged fifteen, had inherited his father's aspirations, and was aided by Maharao Durjan Sal of Kota, for the latter state too had now come under the fortune-seeking Marathas' bombardment. They twice assaulted and momentarily won the town of Bundi, while Jaipur, in the intervals, sacked Kota twice for allying itself with Jaipur's enemy. In 1747, an acutely severe famine devastated Rajasthan, forced Umed Singh of Bundi to sell his best elephant, and further reduced the capacity of the state to recover its resources when, a year later, Umed Singh was finally restored to the territory, again with Holkar's help. Thus, writes Tod,

Omeda regained his patrimony, after ... years of exile, during which a traitor pressed the royal "cushion" of Boondi. But this contest deprived it of many of its ornaments, and, combined with other causes, at length reduced it almost to its intrinsic worth, "a heap of cotton". Mulhar Rao, the founder of the Holcar state, in virtue of his adoption as the brother of the widowqueen of Boodh Sing, had the title of *mamoo*, or uncle, to the young Omeda. But true to the maxims of his race, he did not take his buckler to protect the oppressed, at the impulse of those chivalrous notions so familiar to the Rajpoot, but deemed a portion of the Boondi territory a better incentive, and a more unequivocal proof of gratitude ...<sup>65</sup>

In addition to these land seizures, a large cash fee was demanded by the Holkar family for its services, and an enormous yearly tribute was also to be paid – a combination of demands which Bundi, while obviously unable to pay, was in no position to refuse.

The Mughal commander of Rinthambhor Fort, which Akbar earlier had taken from the Haras, offered to return the bastion to Umed Singh. But the raja refused it, realizing that, like

<sup>63</sup> An early eighteenth century portrait in Bundi style, reputedly inscribed with the name Salam Singh, is in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, and may represent the Karwar prince.

<sup>64</sup> Sarker, op.cit., vol.i, p.156.

<sup>65</sup> Tod, vol.ii, p.398.

the imperial agent, he no longer had the resources to defend it or to collect the tributes due to its possessor, and it passed to Jaipur. The demands then made by that state, and the constant attacks by, and payments to, the Marathas, virtually ended Bundi's effective power. Umed Singh abdicated in 1770 in favor of his son, Ajit Singh, and began a tour of pilgrimages sites throughout India, dressed not in the usual pilgrim's garb, but supposedly carrying one of every form of handweapon then known – and paintings frequently depict him thus. Ajit ruled only briefly, and was succeeded by his son Bishen Singh. Unlike Kota, the Marathas continued to drain Bundi of its meager revenue, and the ruler's living conditions were severely limited. Tod, who knew Bishen Singh, remarked on his "delight in showing how easily he could dispense with unessential enjoyments; and found in the pleasures of the chase the only stimulus befitting a Rajpoot".<sup>66</sup>

Considering the history of Bundi during the eighteenth century, it is hardly surprising that there is a genuine lack of material convincingly attributable to the state in the years immediately preceding 1748, and that the paintings after that date are highly conservative in style. Of the many works traditionally ascribed to Bundi during this period, a large group can now with even greater reason be placed at Kota, while others are indisputably from Uniara. It seems, therefore, that the exile of Umed Singh and Budh Singh from Bundi for almost two decades, during which time they can hardly have supported their full former retinue, and the very reduced means upon which Umed Singh could draw after his return, placed important limitations on the development of Bundi painting.

As a convenient focal point for further discussion, we should note an inscribed painting in the National Museum of India, showing the murder of Maharana Ar Singh of Udaipur (Mewar) by Rao Ajit Singh of Bundi in 1772 (fig. 35). The work is almost certainly a contemporary depiction, for there would have been little incentive to later recall a deed so generally disapproved. The color is rather low-keyed, composed mainly of whites, greens, and browns, while the particular tones are those which were popular in the seventeenth century, and little interest is shown in the very innovative palette of, for example, contemporary Kota painting. Figure types are drawn according to familiar formulae (compare figs. 36 and 37), and if identification of the different figures were to be made, it might have to rely on variations in the cut of a beard or moustache, rather than any character depiction through profiles or facial modelling. This is not a conscious archaism, but a lack of imagination, and of awareness of interests current elsewhere.

Of the Umed Singh period is a group of pictures, several of which are inscribed portraits of that ruler. One, in the Welch Collection (fig. 39),<sup>67</sup> shows him with his sons, again without the slightest attempt at any differentiation of the figures. A second, in the Victoria and Albert Museum and published by W. G. Archer,<sup>68</sup> shows the equestrian chief attacking a huge boar, another version of which is in the Sangram Singh Collection. Further examples of this type include a scene of ladies hunting lions,<sup>69</sup> in the Baroda Museum, and ladies hunting boar

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 407.

<sup>67</sup> W. G. Archer published the painting as ca. 1830 (*IPBK*, fig. 32). A similar portrait, of Budh Singh of Bundi, is in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

<sup>68</sup> *IPBK*, fig. 22.

<sup>69</sup> *The Art of India and Pakistan* (Commemorative Catalogue of the Exhibition held at the Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1947–48), New York: Coward-McCann, 1950, color plate B.

(fig. 40), in a private collection, both the latter by the same hand. The works are quite different in type from Kota hunting scenes, for here landscape is simply a backdrop. Finally, there is a *Ragamala*, much of which is in the National Museum (fig. 41). It follows the Chunar compositions.

We know at present of no dated Bundi paintings of the eighteenth century,<sup>70</sup> although it does seem that the illustration of the murder of Maharana At Singh (fig. 35) can be placed with some confidence to 1772. It is fortunate, however, that a considerable body of closely related material is known from the small state of Uniara, which we shall discuss in detail below. A manuscript made for Raja Sardar Singh of Uniara (r. 1740-77) in 1759 (figs. 48 and 49) is a basis for attributing Bundi paintings to the reign of Umed Singh; for, with the exception of certain minor details, the Uniara and Bundi styles are inter-changeable. (In this regard, compare fig. 38, a detail from the *Ramayana* manuscript reproduced in figs. 50 and 51 and made for Sardar Singh, with figs. 36 and 37, from Bundi). Confirmation of this dating for Bundi works can also be found in a second inscribed manuscript, a *Ragamala* dated 1766 and 1768, made for the wife of Maharao Goman Singh of Kota (fig. 42).<sup>71</sup> We shall discuss this set more fully below, but it should be pointed out here that its borders – a wide, highly burnished red within which a broad black and silver band frames the illustrations proper – have hitherto been considered distinctive of late eighteenth century Bundi. Similar borders are typical of the Umed Singh period paintings listed above. This *Ragamala* is also extremely close to the National Museum *Ragamala* in compositions, treatment of the sky, and the rather stunted proportions of the figures (compare figs. 41 and 42); while no such correlations are found with the main Kota style. No matter what its exact provenance, it clearly appears to have been executed by an artist originally trained at Bundi.

#### Wall-paintings

The last stages of painting at Bundi are best exemplified by the several wall-paintings which still exist within the enormous palace that rises over Bundi town. Those of the section known as *Rang Vilas* have been recently published in a short article by M. S. Randhawa, who included also one illustration from a second complex: the verandah and two interior rooms of a state guest apartment, a far better preserved, more interesting, and earlier group;<sup>72</sup> he did not, however, indicate its different location or date. This second series is in a small, well-protected closed room, leading off a ceremonial bedroom presently full of silver *charpais* (beds) and the usual photographs of minor English royalty. The decorations return us to the early years of the reign of Maharaja Bishen Singh (r. 1773-1821), and the ruler is shown in one scene at worship with his well-armed grandfather.<sup>73</sup> A European painting and a circular European mirror are inserted into two of the walls, and the total effect is unified, sumptuous, and pleasing. But the

<sup>70</sup> Khandalava in "A Group of Bundi Miniatures", *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, no. 5 (1952-53) reproduces in fig. 22 a painting dated 1742 A.D., which he attributes to Bundi, a provenance with which we do not agree, although it may be related to Kota. We have seen neither the painting nor the inscription.

<sup>71</sup> I am again grateful to Robert Skelton for pointing out the existence of this manuscript, and supplying photographs of the illustrations and colophon.

<sup>72</sup> M. S. Randhawa, "Painting in Bundi", *Roopa-Lekha*, vol. xxxv, nos. 1-2 (no date). The illustration referred to is fig. 6.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 6.

style of the illustrations is again very conservative, and their traits – like those of works of the Umed Singh period – are those basic to Rajput paintings: red is the dominant color, and the compositions are rhythmically ordered, decorative, and flat. The stylization of the profiles continues more emphatically a characteristic we glimpse first in the National Museum painting of about 1772 (fig. 35 and the detail in fig. 37): the drawing of the facial expression is becoming sharper, almost angular, in contrast to the rounded, more placid profiles of the Umed Singh period portraits. This would appear to be a progressive trend at Bundi – it definitely is so at Uniara, as we shall see.

The *Rang Vilas* consists of paintings on the columns, walls, and ceilings of the verandahs which enclose on three sides a courtyard, the fourth side of which opens onto a small garden (figs. 44 and 45). The paintings, exposed to the elements, are badly faded, but seem to consist of work executed over a period of a century or more. This would be normal practice, especially in an area not confined to the use of the royal family. Panels that were no longer fresh would be either repainted completely or else retouched, and this makes difficult any exact dating. The earliest sections here (fig. 46), similar in mood and workmanship to the wall-paintings in Jhala House at Kota (e.g. fig. 113), would seem to come from the late eighteenth century. In fig. 47, however, while the lower portions seem contemporary with fig. 46, the landscape at the top has been repainted with a European sense for light and atmospheric perspective, and may date from the late nineteenth century. Of what may be the latest work, distinguished by electric blue and green pigments and haphazard workmanship (typical of late paintings on paper as well), Rudyard Kipling provides us with information observed during a stay in Bundi in 1887. Writing of his visit to the palace, he relates.

At one end of the garden was a small room, under treatment by native artists who were painting panels with historical pictures, in distemper. Theirs was a florid, polychromatic art, but skirting the floor ran a series of frescos in red, black, and white, of combats with elephants, bold and temperate as good German work. They were worn and defaced in places; but the hand of some bygone limner, who did not know how to waste a line, showed under the bruises and scratches, and put the newer work to shame.<sup>74</sup>

We do not today deem these stock combat scenes, visible in figs. 44 and 45, of such merit; but it is useful to know that as late as 1887, painters were still at work on the walls. An exact dating of this phase is neither possible nor necessary, for the sequence clearly shows a gradual and simple exhaustion of the Bundi style through unitiative repetition.

<sup>74</sup> Kipling, op.cit., vol. i, p. 181.

## PAINTING AT UNIARA

We have already indicated the importance to the chronology of Bundi painting of a group of works commissioned by the Rao Rajas of Uniara, a small state politically allied to Jaipur. Bordered by Bundi on the south, Kota to the east, and Jaipur to the northeast, it is at present a typical small, dusty Rajasthani town, dominated by its forts and palaces, and periodically isolated by the monsoon rains. The style of the paintings executed here can be defined through wall-paintings and inscribed works, and the state's history is known in some detail. The source is obscure, however, justifying its inclusion here at somewhat greater length than might otherwise be necessary.<sup>74</sup>

The Uniara family is descended from Raja Udai Karan of Amber (r. 1367–88) through his son, Bir Singh of Niwai, whose grandson, Naruji is the namesake of the Naruka clan, the rulers of Alwar and Uniara. The family allied itself with the Mughals at an early date. Rao Chandrabhan, who reportedly reigned from 1586 to 1660, fought on the side of the imperial troops at Qandahar in 1606, and subsequently accompanied the expeditions to Balkh and Badakhshan; while Fateh Singh (r. 1675–90), as a prince, aided the future Emperor Aurangzeb during the war of succession triggered by the illness of Shah Jahan. Under Sangram Singh I (r. 1690–1715), the state capital was shifted to Uniara town from nearby Kakor, where the fort still exists in excellent condition. That chief joined the Amber, Jodhpur, and Udaipur rulers in their revolt against Mughal overlordship, and attacked the imperial *foujdar* (military governor) at Sambhar in 1708. Victory is credited to him, for after a preliminary Rajput defeat, he led an unexpected charge and completely routed the imperialists. The Mughal flag seized is still in the Rao Raja's possession.

The Narukas of Uniara, a lesser branch of the Kacchawaha dynasty of Amber (Jaipur), remained politically close to, but independent of, the parent state. By a series of dubious manœuvres, Jaipur allied itself to the Marathas during their first invasions into Rajasthan, and this protected Uniara also. The close relationship of the two territories at this time is shown by an incident of importance to us. Tod wrote that Dalel Singh of Karwar, the ruler placed on the Bundi throne by Jai Singh of Amber in 1729, "espoused the daughter of Amber and was invested with the title of *Rao Raja of Bundi*".<sup>75</sup> The woman referred to was actually Bai Singar

<sup>74</sup> Research on painting at Uniara could not have been seriously undertaken without the help of Kunvar Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh, and Rao Raja Rajendra Singh and Rajkunvar Tejendra Singh of Uniara, to all of whom I am extremely grateful for information and help. The historical information written here is derived from Lala Chiranjit Lal Agrawal, *Status of Uniara*, Jaipur: Chief Court (no date); Sangram Singh, "The History of Uniara", based on the above pamphlet; and Khosla, *India and the War (1914–18)*, Lahore: Imperial Publishing Company, 1924, vol. i, p. 70.

<sup>75</sup> Tod, vol. ii, p. 394.

Kunvar, daughter of the then Kunvar Sardar Singh of Uniara. She was ceremonially adopted for the occasion by Jaipur, from whom she received a large allowance until her death. And we can therefore look to this link when we need to explain the presence in Uniara of a painter working in the style of a politically inimical state – Bundi – and to clarify the fate of painters from the ousted Budh Singh Hara's workshops.

In the middle of the century, as the Marathas became increasingly dangerous, Uniara allied itself even more closely to Jaipur. Between 1752 and 1755, the Marathas concentrated on capturing Rinthambhor Fort, now under Jaipur control, and swept down on the whole of Jaipur's territory, burning Uniara. Maharaja Madho Singh, then ruler of Jaipur, offered his neighbor and ally no assistance, presumably in retaliation for its earlier support of Ishwari Singh, his rival. Sardar Singh, in a *firman* (decree) dated 1760, was granted the hereditary title of Rao Raja Bahadur by the Emperor Shah 'Alam II; whereupon Madho Singh, incensed by these honors, sacked Uniara and forced a large payment to be made. Soon after this, before his death in 1767, Madho Singh and Sardar Singh were reconciled.

Sardar Singh died in 1777, and left behind innumerable portraits and paintings, a tank and palace at Nagar (with wall-paintings), a temple at Badoli (not to be confused with the site in Kota State), and a life-size elephant statue, supposedly carved of one rock and dated 1753, which can be seen from the Tonk-Uniara Road. His son, Jaswant Singh, had earlier been murdered by partisans of Indra Singh, whom Madho Singh of Jaipur had promised to support and recognize as Sardar Singh's successor. A second, illegitimate son, Maha Singh, was exiled by his father and eventually joined Malhar Rao Holkar, the Maratha chieftain, as bodyguard. He seems to have been an extraordinary man, and is known both as a warrior and an architect, building the fortress and Mataji Temple at Gothra, and the Jagat Sriromanji Temple (*figs. 57 and 58*) in Uniara town, both of which still have contemporary wall-paintings intact.

Jaswant Singh's son, Bishen Singh (c. 1777–93), succeeded. In 1787, a Rajput federation headed by Jaipur routed the Marathas at Tonga (Lalsot), and for his services the Jaipur Maharaaja granted Rao Raja Bishen Singh a salute of five guns on arrival and departure from *darbar*, as well as absolute rights over his own territory and its dependants. Uniara suffered constant friction with both the Marathas and Karauli State. The treaty between Jaipur and the East India Company in 1818 included Uniara, which, the year before, had aided Sir Charles Metcalfe's attack on the Pindari marauders. The history of Uniara at this point, however, is of no particular importance to our subject.

In the collection of Rao Raja Rajendra Singh of Uniara, is a *Bhagavata Purana* manuscript with several hundred full or partial page illustrations (*figs. 48 and 49*). A colophon relates that it was commissioned by Sardar Singh I, and completed in 1759 by the painter Mira Bagas. The patron is shown in the frontispiece (*fig. 48*), and countless portraits of him, all identically placid, are known in public and private collections. The manuscript was clearly meant to be a sumptuous production, for a considerable amount of gold and silver was used; and while, as in any work of the size, monotony is inevitable, the best pages are spirited and full of life and color.

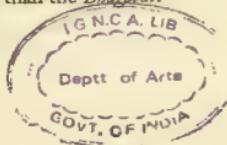
A second manuscript, a *Ramayana* in the same collection (*figs. 50 and 51*), is both unfinished and uninscribed, but the several hundred folios that remain, the paintings of which are generally larger in size than those of the *Bhagavat*, show an instructive stylistic progression. The earliest, both sequentially and in date, are identical in style to the *Bhagavat* and to the bulk of

painting at Uniara during Sardar Singh's reign, and are attributable to Mira Bagas (compare figs. 48 and 50). Towards the end of the book, the paintings are less finely finished, and the compositions sometimes drastically abbreviated, although still in the Mira Bagas tradition; fig. 51 shows this to some extent. There are a few pages at the end which seem to have been added much later – perhaps in modern times – and are not of importance to us here. It would appear likely that the *Ramayana*, then, charts the end of the painter's influence at Uniara, and that its incompleteness is probably due, directly or indirectly, to his death, the death of his patron, or both. This is made more plausible by our knowledge of a subsequent very definite stylistic shift.

Under Sardar Singh's successor, Bishen Singh, Uniara painting came as heavily under the influence of Jaipur as it had earlier been related to Bundi – this is known through a considerable number of inscribed (although not specifically dated) portraits formerly in the possession of the Uniara family, but of which many are now in the collection of Kunvar Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh. While portraits of Sardar Singh are known only in the Mira Bagas tradition, those of Bishen Singh as a young man are both in that manner and in a more meticulously executed and subtly colored Jaipur-derived style. Later depictions of Bishen Singh and of his successors are solely Jaipur in affiliation (and they affected Jaipuri turbans as well) (fig. 52), although reminiscences of the earlier style occasionally remain: in certain hunting scenes, for example, the compositions are clearly continuations of Sardar Singh period examples.

While it is hoped that eventual access to Bundi and Uniara court records will give us fuller knowledge of the artists involved, and especially of their family connections, a Jain *pata* (a religious diagram on cloth) in the palace at Uniara indicates that members of Mira Bagas' family remained in the Rao Rajas' employ. It is inscribed with the date S. 1849 = 1792 A.D., and the names of two painters: Salag Ram, and Nand, "grandson of Mira Bagas". The character of the painting is not such that the artists' styles can be judged, however.

It seems, then, that the Mira Bagas style came to an end during the earlier years of Bishen Singh's life, to be replaced by a mode of work more in accord with Uniara's political and social affiliations, and with what must have been considered a more impressive and appropriate type of painting. Obviously what is of most interest to us here is the period of Sardar Singh I's rule, for we know of no work necessarily to be attributed to the years prior to his reign. A comparison of the Bundi painting of the murder of Ar Singh (fig. 35) and pages from the Uniara *Ramayana* (figs. 50 and 51) show their closeness stylistically: in color, drawing of the landscape, trees and sky, and, especially, figure types (compare again figs. 37 and 38 as well). Apart from the greater use of gold and silver, the 1759 *Bhagavat* seems to differ from the *Ramayana* only in the minor trait of its rather more rounded and less animated facial expressions. These latter are comparable to Bundi paintings that we have dated during the reign of Umed Singh (e.g. figs. 40 and 41) and stem ultimately from the Bharat Kala Bhavan painting of Krishna and Mount Govardhan (fig. 22) or the Bombay *Ladies in a Garden* (fig. 21). The slightly sharper features of the *Ramayana* figures, especially in its later pages, seem to reflect directly the type we know to have been increasingly popular at Bundi from the reign of Ajit Singh (compare figs. 36–38), and to lead into figural types popular at Uniara under Rao Raja Bishen Singh and his followers (fig. 52). Indications are, then, that stylistic changes at Bundi were closely followed at Uniara, even when minor, and that the *Ramayana* is later in date than the *Bhagavat*.



In trying to characterize the difference between paintings from Uniara and those from Bundi, we are in effect merely isolating the personal style of Mira Bagas, for his is clearly the dominant personality at Uniara. This is made tentative due to the lack of material definitely attributable to Bundi in the early eighteenth century. Like most painting from less powerful states or *thikanas*, the general character is low-powered, and when traits associated with more progressive work appear, they are adopted and not initiated. In Mira Bagas' paintings, for example, there is little interest in spatial depth or individual characterizations; with the exception of large and important *darbar* or hunting scenes (e.g. fig. 53), where a modestly successful and sometimes even witty portraiture is seen, figures are drawn according to a definite type, as they are at Bundi: with rounded, heavy faces and large chins. The Uniara painter's personal presentation of these, which is relatively unvarying (and absolutely so in his depictions of Sardar Singh), must be learned visually, rather than explained verbally. The frequently seen type of turbulent, colorful sky – as in the upper right of fig. 50 – as lively in design as the vegetation, is a more distinctive trait, as is the drawing of trees and creepers, which are often composed into lively arabesques, seen in gold in the *Bhagavat* (fig. 49), and in such works as the "Utkal Nayika" in the collection of Stuart C. Welch (fig. 54).

The most successful paintings, however, are not in the manuscripts mentioned. They are found among the several individual court and hunting scenes, the most important of which are in the Uniara Collection (fig. 53), the collection of Sangram Singh, and the National Museum, New Delhi. These tend to be large in size, and center around the activities of Sardar Singh and both his sons. In addition, Kunvar Jaswant Singh is shown with his *zenana* in two paintings which seem to combine two quite different styles. The work illustrated in fig. 55, in the National Museum, is inscribed with the prince's name; while the second, the background of which is gold, is with Rajkunvar Tejendra Singh of Uniara. In each, the prince and the ladies immediately surrounding him are drawn in the standard Mira Bagas manner, although the remainder of the painting shows a completely different style, one that is known through additional works without the Uniara element and not presently of identifiable provenance. It is possible that the portraits may have been joint efforts by two painters, made perhaps at the time of Jaswant Singh's marriage. In any case, the intruder style does not seem to have left any traces on subsequent Uniara work.

Mira Bagas, it would seem, was simply a Bundi artist in exile; his origin being the determining factor of his personal style and not complicated by other strong influences at the court of his new patron until the reign of Bishen Singh. His isolation from Bundi, his limited artistic powers, and the relative provinciality of the Uniara court may have conspired to keep his development at a rather slow pace. We have no specific information yet about the date of this presumed move, but it is likely that it occurred soon after the installation of Sardar Singh's son-in-law on the Bundi throne in 1729, a time also when at least some painters from Bundi must have been seeking new patronage. This makes us view somewhat less skeptically the inscription on the frontispiece on an otherwise lost *Padmapurana* manuscript, which shows Rama and Sita attended by Lakshman and Hanuman, the monkey-god (fig. 56). The date of the manuscript's completion is given as S. 1800 = 1743 A.D. It is certainly attributable to Mira Bagas, although without our knowledge of the dated *Bhagavat* and later developments, and of the rather stagnant character of Uniara painting as a whole, we might otherwise have agreed with the customary dating of such work to half a century later.

There are a number of wall-paintings in former Uniara State: at Gothra, Nagar, and Uniara town. Of these, we shall confine ourselves to the latter site, for they are the most chronologically comprehensive. *Figure 57* shows a court scene from the terrace wall of the Jagat Sriromanji Temple, directly opposite the entrance to Uniara Fort, and still in the Rao Raja's personal possession. The main figure must represent Kunvar Maha Singh, the temple's builder. Other illustrations, which are, in effect, "wall-miniatures", show various scenes from the lives of Vishnu, and all are in standard mid-eighteenth century Mira Bagas style (*fig. 58*).

Within the original portion of the palace, which was much extended by Sardar Singh II after his accession in 1912, a single room contains wall-paintings, including portraits of Sardar Singh I, Bishen Singh (*fig. 59*), and Bhim Singh (r. 1794–1819); and this, as well as the more exclusively Jaipur-oriented style, seems to indicate their execution under the latter chief. The scenes depicted include complete *Ragamala*, *Baramasa*, and Vishnu-avatar series, and various court scenes and processions illustrating particular *darbars* or events, with each participant carefully labelled. Among these are scenes showing Maharana Bhim Singh (r. 1778–1828) of Udaipur and his entourage on the occasion of his marriage to a daughter of the Uniara house.

## PAINTING AT KOTA

Shri Hari

Hail, Hail to the Lord of Vraja (Krishna)

Obeisance to the Fortunate and Great, the Lord of the Ganas (Ganesh). Hail to Him, the elephant-headed (God), meditation on whose lotus feet leads to the removal of all obstructions even as the Sun destroys darkness.

May there be Good Fortune, Shri Shri 108 Shri, the Lord of the Earth, Maharaja, the King of Kings, the King among Kings, Maharaja, Maharaj ji, Shri Ram Singhji Samvat 1906 (= 1849 A.D.), the fifth of the dark half of the month of Pausa. The village of Nanda, Kota ... a lion was shot. The lion was beaten out of his lair and shot from the shooting parapet. The same day, a great thanksgiving feast was held in the palace of Dara. The army was treated generously to delicacies like *sira*, *pari*, *kbir* (rice pudding), etc. The elephants, horses and bullocks were also treated to *kbir* ... there was a musical *soires* in celebration in which Bhagtannya Katawant (a dancing girl) performed. Rewards were given and general festivities organized. (The Maharaja) entered Nandgaon on horseback the same day ... *Dosbalas* (shawls) were distributed among the nobles. *Siropas* and cash were also distributed. Afterwards, he (the Maharaja) entered the palace and met the Gracious Lady (*Rani*). In the town there was a rain of coins. Festivities went on ... May there be prosperity and well-being.

*Inscription in the palace at Darab, Kota State<sup>76</sup>*

### *The Seventeenth Century*

The anecdotes of Kota history are similar to those of Bundi or any of the Rajput states: suspicion, jealousy, intrigue, and murder form the staples of daily existence. One major difference important to us, however, is the much greater enthusiasm that Kota rulers had for painting. This is measured not in the quantity of their artists' output, for the cultivation of painting was a necessary social grace at all Rajput courts, but by its quality. And it is this trait – even more than style – which separates Kota works so clearly and conclusively from those of Bundi.

As we noted, Kota was only formed as a separate state in 1625, when the Mughal Emperor Jahangir divided Bundi in half and awarded one part to Madhu Singh, younger son of Rao Ratan

<sup>76</sup> Dr. M.S. Randhawa very kindly supplied a copy of this inscription as well as a translation by Dr. B.N. Goswamy, to both of whom I am very grateful.

Singh of Bundi, as a reward for his bravery in the Emperor's service. It is often pointed out that this tactic, used with other Rajput states as well, was part of a conscious policy on the part of the Mughals, for by creating internal friction, Rajput power became even more fragmented. Yet while this certainly speeded Bundi's decline as a force in Rajasthan, it unwittingly created a new and vital state in Kota, and by the end of the century the new kingdom had superseded its parent militarily, economically, and culturally. Like Kota itself, Kota painting began as a simple variant of the Bundi style. The subtle differences the few remaining early works contain, however, continually reappear and develop in other paintings to form a very distinct stylistic category which, by inscriptional and historical evidence, we can relate to Kota.

We might first consider a work of undoubtable Kota authorship: an unpublished portrait, inscribed both on its flyleaf and on the reverse with the information that it represents Raja Ram Singh I (r. 1695–1707) of Kota, with the ladies of his harem, hunting at Mukundgarh (fig. 60). It is a beautiful work, full of such perceptively rendered detail as the glances of the frightened deer (fig. 61), which becomes a stock item in the Kota artists' repertoire. The faces of the raja and his consorts and attendants are, in detail, of a highly distinctive type (fig. 67). The shape and proportions are based on the Bundi formula known in such works as the *Ragamala* of ca. 1680, yet the figures are characterized by a much redder complexion, and almost sculpturally modelled features (compare figs. 66 and 67). The most obvious single trait is the drawing of the eye, by an inner outline in black and an outer outline in red; an early, rough attempt at naturalism which later becomes, at Kota, a mannerism. The densely massed and tightly composed foliage of the hunting scene is drawn with an almost Chinese variety of brushstroke, and in some areas is indicated simply through gradations of wetly applied ink – a technique which may have suggested the later convention of using cloth pads dipped in color to define areas of landscape and background. Certainly the overall character of the work is distinct from paintings which we have attributed to Bundi, where there was no such concern for technical innovation and new expressive possibilities, as we find here. And while it has predecessors in date, which we shall examine below, the Mukundgarh hunt seems to be the first painting in which Kota painters have established a stylistic identity and artistic interests significantly different from those of Bundi.

Two *Ragamalas* and a portrait form an important early group for examination. The first of the *Ragamalas* (fig. 62), neither of which bears an inscription, appeared on the Indian art market from an important Jaipur *thikana* collection in early 1968, when the series could be seen as a complete set of thirty-six paintings.<sup>77</sup> Like the 1591 Chunar *Ragamala*, the pages have broad, burnished red borders, upon which arabesques and cartouches have been drawn in silver. The colors used in the illustrations themselves, however, are quite different, and recall the changes noted when comparing the Bundi *Ragamala* of ca. 1680 to the Chunar set.<sup>78</sup> The latter pages are based on an earthy palette of tan, black, orange, red, and white (colors found in early Mughal works), while the later (Kota) *Ragamala* is brighter and more varied, but at the same time less naturalistic. A light green, popular in both states, is more frequently seen at Kota, where it is most commonly used for architecture. A further difference can be seen in the increased filling of the surface with detail. Areas of architecture which in the 1591 set were left a simple expanse

<sup>77</sup> Pages are now in the collections of Jagdish Goenka, Calcutta, and Edwin Binney III, Brookline, Massachusetts (see Walter Spink, *Krishnamandala*, Ann Arbor: 1971, colorplate on p. vi).

<sup>78</sup> Above, p. 17.

of flat color have been filled with rosettes or other decorative devices, and patterned architectural mouldings have been added. The architectural cornice is made up of smaller and more heavily shaded units, thereby increasing its ornamental function. This is common treatment in the various *Ragamalas* we attribute to Kota, but is generally lacking in the series associated with Bundi (compare, for example, figs. 32 and 63).

Much of the feeling of wildness in the vegetation of the Chunar paintings – conspicuously absent from the Bundi series of ca. 1680 – remains in the best pages of the early Kota group, for which photographs unfortunately are not available. It is the figure types, however, that provide the most instructive contrast to the Bundi set (compare figs. 64 to 66). In the latter, the faces are drawn so completely according to well-established formula that they have the familiarity of cartoon characters. In the Kota series, contrariwise, the variety of facial types is large, for the painters are obviously experimenting with their formal vocabulary, no longer content to execute exact copies.

The second *Ragamala*, four pages of which are in the collection of Kunvar Sangram Singh (fig. 63), and a fifth in an American private collection, contains all the characteristics we noted in the work discussed above. But it seems later in date because of its heavier and more decorative treatment of the vegetation and sky, and the more controlled and limited character of its facial types. Both sets, although using predetermined compositions, are very clearly related to the Mukundgarh hunt, as a comparison of figs. 62 to 67 will show; and the Kota origin of the group is re-confirmed by an important portrait in the Gopi Krishna Kanoria Collection, showing a seated ruler with four ladies in attendance (fig. 68). The figures seem to have stepped from the *Ragamala* pages, partaking more of the energy of the earlier than the decorativeness of the later set, with both of which it agrees as well in color. A portrait of the same ruler (fig. 69), whose dark appearance is quite unique, is in the collection of Ralph Benkaim, Beverly Hills, and an inscription reveals him to be Jagat Singh, grandson of Madhu Singh and ruler of Kota from 1657 to 1683. Additional depictions of him are known: an equestrian portrait in the Kanoria Collection; and a scene of celebration in the National Museum, in which he is shown twice, riding on a horse and in a boat. These latter two works are less in the style of the *Ragamalas* than in a rather folkish variant of the style of, for example, Bundi portraits of the Bhamo Singh period; and it would therefore seem that they represent a different level of Kota painting. This would be wholly consistent with the rather experimental and exploratory character of the more major paintings we have discussed, for it was at that level, certainly, that Kota first established its artistic identity, less pretentious work following traditional and well-established patterns.

The identifiable portraits allow us to chart more confidently the sequence of the early Kota style, although this seems to pose no particular problems. The Mukundgarh hunt (fig. 60) cannot be dated before 1695, the year of the subject's accession, for Ram Singh is referred to in the inscription as Maharaja; and we hesitate to date it much later. In comparison to Kota paintings of the early eighteenth century, the hunting scene is in many ways retrospective: in the small dimensions of the work and the proportionate size of the figures, the figure types, and the very consciously planned and controlled composition. And there is no reason to doubt that the Jagat Singh portrait (fig. 68) is contemporary with that ruler, and painted about 1675. This would place the first *Ragamala* in the mid-seventeenth century, and the later set about 1685. The dates, of course, are not absolute.

A further important work is in the Sangram Singh Collection, and portrays a royal couple being given homage by ladies of the zenana (fig. 70). Comparisons of figure types, color, and architecture suggest that the painting should be dated contemporaneously with the Jagat Singh portrait of fig. 68; in addition, as in the National Museum portrait of that ruler, figures appear here more than once, a practice not otherwise common. We have not, unfortunately, been able to identify the scene, which may represent the festivities celebrating a marriage, or its participants. The male figure, despite a certain resemblance to Jagat Singh, appears to be a Mughal, for his 'jama' (coat) is tied on the right.<sup>79</sup>

Of far greater exuberance and energy than any painting we have yet discussed is the well-known illustration of a raja on an elephant hunting a rhinoceros (fig. 71).<sup>80</sup> It is not inscribed, but has been tentatively identified as Ram Singh I of Kota on the basis of known portraits of that ruler, and the presumed date. A later drawing, compositionally identical with the exception of the now single rider, is in the same collection (fig. 73), and such a work (presumably made from a tracing) may have been used to produce the third version (fig. 74), on the walls of *Chattar Mahal*, a section of Kota Palace.

Figure 71, large and dynamic, previews the new interests which would henceforth dominate Kota painting. Unlike illustrations of traditional texts, which copied well-established compositions and developed by accentuating already prominent traits, hunting scenes and portraiture at Kota, at least initially, generated more artistic energy. Painters were encouraged to fill their works with innumerable, directly observed details: birds and animals, wounded and dying tigers and lions and boar, landscapes, and individualized portraiture. So much a part of the Kota tradition did such concerns become, that even in the mid-nineteenth century, after Kota artists' official work had become abbreviated and dry, portraits of wit and depth still appeared, although chiefly in simple sketches not meant to circulate beyond the artists' families.

The rhinoceros hunt of fig. 71, a bold image with an instant impact, is full of carefully observed detail as well: the different textures of the elephant's skin and that of his prey, for example. Its greatest effect, however, is in qualities transcending pure description, qualities we did not notice at all to the same degree in Bundi works, but which are here most intensely felt in the drawing structuring and modelling the elephant's head and ear, and which, in isolated detail, present us with a series of evocative, fantastic landscapes (fig. 72). The same feeling is found in the drawing of two elephants fighting (fig. 71), in the collection of Howard Hodgkin, London. The author of these two works must be the same, so identically conceived and drawn are the animals. The human figural formulae are slightly different, however. In the painting, they conform completely to the most standard Kota type of the early eighteenth century, while the Hodgkin drawing seems earlier: the heads are less square and the eyes seem not so formally preconceived. In addition, the rather heavy delineation of the eyelash, which would become a standard device by the 1750s, is absent in the drawing but present in the painting. These somewhat subtle points suggest that the rhinoceros hunt is slightly later than the elephant battle, although given earlier and later developments, we would expect them both to be of the period

<sup>79</sup> On the reverse of the painting is the seal of Raj Singh Rathor, identified by Kunvar Sangram Singh as Raj Singh, grandson of Mota Raja Udal Singh of Jodhpur, and founder of Junia, a Rathor state in Ajmer. The seal is dated equivalent to 1701 A.D.

<sup>80</sup> Illustrated in color in Sherman E. Lee, *Rajput Painting*, cover and p. 45.

of Ram Singh's rule. Thus if the former can be placed about 1705, since it seems relatively later than the Mukundgarh hunt, the Hodgkin drawing should be about 1695.

Several drawings add importantly to our knowledge of painting around 1700 at Kota, further proving it to be a period of almost unique vitality and creativeness in Rajasthan. Two battle scenes, possible portions of one large drawing, are known in Indian and American private collections (*fig. 76*). Both were rapidly executed, and presumably represent only germinal developments of the theme; and while they do not form totally successful works as a whole, each has powerful passages. The Indian section bears an inscription above one of the warriors recording that he is Ram Singh, and this presents the possibility that the scene depicts his fatal battle on behalf of A'zam Shah at the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. The works are interesting in relation to a drawing of a feast (*fig. 77*), which, while it was obviously drawn with complete spontaneity, shows perfect technical and artistic control. A fourth drawing, related in energy (if less "automatic" than the feast) and in some aspects of style again depicts a battle (*figs. 78 and 79*). It is both larger and more complete than the previous works, and despite the minuteness of scale, the huge quantity of figures, and the lack of color (except for small areas of red to indicate the flow of blood), it is enormously satisfying both as a totality and in detail. Its ultimate source comes not from Rajput courts, but from the Mughals, who included battle scenes full of similar observations in their historical manuscripts. In style, it is clearly related to Kota, in fact the linework of the drawings mentioned above seems to be based on the type of execution seen here; and the rather lumpy definition of shoulders, in which the outline of an arm continues to define the backbone, is in particularly strong vogue both here and in many other Kota works of the early eighteenth century. The facial types, however, are not those customary at Kota. It is possible that they have evolved from styles developed in certain areas of Ajmer State, for Ajmer was one of the chief sub-capitals of the Mughal Empire, and seems to have supported painting of a provincial Mughal type throughout the seventeenth century. *Figure 80*, for example, may be the precursor of paintings known by inscription to be early eighteenth century works from Sawar, a *thikana* of Ajmer formed in the early seventeenth century under a grant from Jahangir. Here is a somewhat late survival of certain characteristics (color, loose composition, and vegetation types) found in the Kota Museum *Bhagavat*, and that manuscript must be very close to the type of sub-imperial painting popular in Ajmer during the earlier part of the seventeenth century. Sawar town is separated from Bundi by the Banas River, although its territories, which cross the river, adjoin those of both Bundi and Kota. Two drawings, one in the National Museum, New Delhi, the other in a private collection (*fig. 81*), could thus also be attributed provisionally to a Sawar or related artist in the late seventeenth century. In common with Kota works is the drawing of shoulders, and the overall concept of the elephant, which, while less finely drawn than the elephant of the rhinoceros hunt (*fig. 71*), shows in isolated detail much the same sense of abstract form.<sup>81</sup>

In any case, there is not yet enough information to make more than the most tentative suggestion concerning the source of the figural formulae, and thus perhaps the artist, of the battle scene (*figs. 78 and 79*). The important point is that he evidently came to Kota from elsewhere, at a time when his style was mature. And it may have been largely due to the inspiration of his

<sup>81</sup> Important material on Sawar can be found in the collections of Kunvar Sangram Singh, and Gopi Krishna Kanoria.

personal talent, interests, and character (rather than simply the *milieu* in which he was trained) that Kota painters in the early eighteenth century were concerned with problems without precedent in Bundi, or elsewhere in Rajasthan; evolving a spontaneous, and enormously energetic style closely dependant on an intense perception of the natural world. These drawings brings us closer to the real interests and spirit of Kota artists, and this must have been recognized then by the court as well, for many of the best Kota works from these years are essentially colored drawings.

### *The Eighteenth Century*

The earliest inscriptionally dated pictures from Kota are a portrait of Maharao Chattar Sal (r. 1758-64), made in 1759, and a *Bhagavata Purana* manuscript in the same style, dated 1760 - both in the Museum at Kota. They can be immediately related to other undated portraits of Chattar Sal, including a spirited procession scene (*fig. 82*) in the Severance Millikan Collection, Cleveland, and to additional dispersed *Bhagavat* pages (*fig. 83*), seemingly from the same manuscript. Together with portraits of Chattar Sal's predecessors, these form a group that provides us with means to begin defining the development of painting at Kota in the years following the reign of Ram Singh I.

The palette of these paintings is quite different from the earlier works. A blue-green color has become popular (especially for architecture and, in a darker hue, for backgrounds), as have several shades of purple. Also, such elements as the heavily shaded eye, or the solid, almost sculptural facial type have become more extreme. The face of the Maharao in *fig. 82*, in fact, with large eyes, beaklike nose and rounded forehead, quite recognizably different from the Ram Singh I period formulae, seems to be, at least partially, the result of the strongly self-assured, personal style of the painter. Prototypes, however, are known in three paintings, apparently portraits of one man. An example in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, shows a ruler viewing a horse, and is labelled on the reverse as Maharao Arjun Singh (r. 1720-23) (*fig. 84*); the others are in the Kanoria and Welch Collections. It is possible that these are contemporary with the ruler they depict, for the style of all three - certainly by one artist - seems earlier than the illustrations datable to 1760, although no less eccentric, and probably attributable to the same painter. The color of the Arjun Singh portraits is basically that of the Ram Singh I period. Modelling is effected, as traditionally, in tones of reddish-brown (particularly striking against the blue skin of Krishna in the Kanoria picture), while by the Chattar Sal period black was more generally employed. Also, the more orthodox drawing of the attendant figure in the Boston work (*fig. 84*) is still very close to, for example, the attendant rider of the Welch rhinoceros hunt (*fig. 71*).

A famous dispersed *Ragamala* (*fig. 85*), pages from which are in many museums and private collections, must be included in this group, as a brief comparison of figure types will show. This series' palette, while basically that of earlier works, begins to use the colors we noted as being popular by the time of the dated paintings. A relative date of ca. 1740 thus seems likely. We also see that the architectural forms, like the figures, have developed their character mainly through accentuation of earlier traits. Shading is no longer indicated by thin, parallel lines which actually model the forms, but is simply a thick stripe of a darker hue, a decoratively attractive device,

but far removed from the intentionally naturalistic source of the earlier practice. Interestingly, this comes at a time when more "progressive" trends of Kota painting were rediscovering naturalism.

A colored drawing of a hunt, inscribed as showing Rao Bhoj Singh (r. 1585–1607) of Bundi (fig. 86), who was an ancestor of both the Bundi and Kota houses and the possible patron of the Chunār *Ragamala*, is in the collection of Stuart C. Welch. It is the largest work we have yet discussed, measuring about 19 by 26 inches. The setting is a jungle, out of which peer the faces of the ruler's innumerable retinue, while the Rao shoots his arrow at one of two impossibly huge lions. In overall design and detail, the work has vastly more verve than the Mukundgarh hunt (fig. 60), from which it derives the use of thin, wet washes for foliage. The faces are drawn according to no particular or exclusive formula, some are heavily, "manneristically" modelled, some merely briefly sketched; and while dominantly Kota in feeling, a few faces show a Bundi ancestry through their more rounded profiles. Rao Bhoj himself is generally of the same type as the beak-nosed depictions of Arjun Singh and Chattar Sal, and thus of about 1740. A second hunting scene, this time for boar, is in the Sangram Singh Collection; it is also labelled as Rao Bhoj, and is by the same artist. Both works attempt to create more accurate and sensitive characterizations by the manipulation of standard figural formulae in freer and more personal ways. And for this reason, they represent for their date the most advanced trend of Kota painting that we know, a trend far more experimental than the always arch-conservative *Ragamala* tradition.

Another type of court level Kota painting is shown by a *Baramasa* series, one page of which was published by W.G. Archer and dated ca. 1720,<sup>82</sup> or in a familiar *Rasikapriya* (fig. 88), much of which is in the National Museum of India. The latter has generally been attributed to Bundi,<sup>83</sup> although stylistically its dominant element is clearly of the type we identify with Kota. The figures are based on those of the Ram Singh I period in shape and proportion, rather than on those of the group just mentioned, although they are more smoothly painted. The majority of the illustrations, however, despite their lavishly royal character, are rather dry and academic, the vegetation stiff, and the animals drawn with little real sympathy. Others, such as fig. 88, betray a quite new attempt to render architecture three-dimensionally, although the modelling, to our eyes, produces only an effect of sootiness. Color, also, is used in a way that would become increasingly popular: strong colors are not placed edge to edge, but are isolated by large areas of white, so that the entire effect is cooler and less rich. In addition, such tones as the blue-green are introduced. This new color sense will reach maturity in an important dated painting of 1764 (fig. 89), to be discussed below, in which the very smooth modelling we see attempted in the *Rasikapriya* is also mastered. The latter retains ties with the Ram Singh I period figure types which the dated work will break, however, suggesting that the *Rasikapriya* is earlier. A more exact date can be approached by comparison with an Udaipuri painting in the Museum at Chandigarh. This has an almost identical result to its attempts to model the architecture, and is dated 1754 A.D. In any case, the outcome of these new interests will be a group of works with more subtle, softer color and modelling, and, gradually, more sensitive portraiture – elements which developed at this time throughout Rajasthan and the Punjab Hill States; and

<sup>82</sup> IPBK, fig. 34.

<sup>83</sup> Bundi, plate 7, and IPBK, fig. 15.

the relation of which to the decline of the Mughal court and its artistic patronage is complex and uncertain.

By the reign of Maharao Chattar Sal, then, two extremes of Kota painting can be defined: the first typified by the Millikan Procession Scene (*fig. 82*), and generally termed conservative; the second more refined, and more indebted to Mughal than to Rajput taste. This latter is best exemplified by a painting in the collection of Kunvar Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh, showing Maharao Chattar Sal and Kunvar Goman Singh with members of the court – including Raj Rana Zalim Singh, who presented the work to the ruler in 1764 (*figs. 89 and 90*). The colors belong to the new, softer palette we have noted; and gold is brushed in with the colors of the costumes and bolsters of the leading figures to produce a particularly sumptuous effect. The faces are far more smoothly modelled than any we have so far been able to trace to Kota, and are released from automatic reference to Ram Singh I period prototypes (compare *figs. 90 and 67*). The viewer is persuaded that he is seeing more accurate portraiture, with fewer of the sheerly personal eccentricities exhibited by, for example, the Bhoj Singh drawings (*figs. 86 and 87*). A touch of “realism” found in the wrinkled face of the elderly courtier, also a favorite characterization of the hill schools beginning at the same time, becomes a well-hackneyed stereotype by the early nineteenth century (see also *fig. 94*).

It is interesting that the most conspicuously regal painting we have yet related to Kota, a work the style of which is quite new within the Kota context and yet extraordinarily influential well into the nineteenth century, is a portrait commissioned by Zalim Singh, the man most important to Kota’s subsequent history. A portrait of him, extracted from *fig. 89*, is reproduced in *fig. 90*. (There is no reason, however, to connect this painting, or the development of the style generally with painters exclusively under his patronage; both wall-paintings and works on paper indicate that he and the rulers of Kota used the same group of artists.) Before Zalim Singh’s appearance, there was little indication that Kota’s fate or importance would be significantly different from that of Bundi or other Rajasthani states. We have recounted the involvement of Bundi and Kota with Jaipur and the Marathas during the early eighteenth century. In 1761, the Afghan Ahmad Shah Abdali defeated the Deccani troops at Panipat, yet while he made them too weak ever to reconstitute for themselves the now defunct Mughal Empire, they were sufficiently strong to drain from such Rajput states as Bundi and Kota whatever income was still forthcoming. By the accession of Maharao Umed Singh (r. 1770–1819) of Kota, the rulers’ own control over both their lesser nobles and their subjects had also disintegrated to the extent that they were simply unable to gather sufficient money to fulfill the Marathas’ demands. It was, however, singlehandedly due to Zalim Singh’s machinations that the state survived. Soon after he presented the court scene to the Maharao in 1764, when he was only twenty-four years old, Zalim Singh was forced to leave Kota because of a successful romantic rivalry with Chattar Sal’s brother and successor, Goman Singh (r. 1764–70).<sup>84</sup> Zalim Singh went to Udaipur, where he momentarily defeated the Marathas threatening that state, and was rewarded with a *jagir*, and the right to add *rana* to his hereditary title of *raja*. Later, however, he was captured by Maratha forces, and concocted an extraordinary plan to allow his return to Kota, where he had been invited by Maharao Umed Singh – coincidentally his nephew – to resume the position he

<sup>84</sup> See Malcolm, *A Memoir of Central India*, vol. i, pp. 487ff.

had held under Goman Singh, that of *foujdar*. He planned to enlist the aid of the Marathas to help him subdue Kota's rebellious land-owners, as the Maharao asked him to do, at the same time rebuilding the system to a prosperity that would make it possible to pay the demanded tributes. He offered, in addition, to raise the amount of tribute, to further ensure the Marathas' cooperation. The result of this was that the revenue of Kota was eventually increased ten-fold, by the confiscation and reorganization of many of the mismanaged noble estates. And so pleased was he with the result, that the *de jure* ruler, Umed Singh, signed over perpetual administration of Kota to Zalim Singh and his sons, with the stipulation that the Maharao and his heirs could live in the accustomed splendor. In that way, Umed Singh could pursue his real interests: hunting, opium, and the harem. This economic prosperity also allows to Kota painting of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century a vitality which we have seen in completely absent in contemporary Bundi works.

Maharao Durjan Sal (r. 1723–56) of Kota is shown in an inscribed posthumous hunting scene in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (fig. 91). It is dated 1778, and recalls both the 1764 painting (fig. 89) and the Bhoj Singh drawings (fig. 86). It shares with the latter an identical choice and composition of foliage, and similarly placed lions and human figures. The smoothness of the execution, however, derives from developments represented by the 1764 painting, and, with other related details, leads to a quite different visual effect: the faces are less lively, the drawing of the lions lacks the animated calligraphic character of their predecessors (a purely qualitative difference), and the gold outline on the leaves increases the effect of decorativeness. The seeming lack of spontaneity is offset by the enormous richness of the overall pattern, and by the tentative emergence of a quality which Sherman Lee has termed "super-real", in reference to a painting of the early nineteenth century in the Cleveland Museum of Art (fig. 102).<sup>85</sup> We see this most forcefully in the hillside behind the wounded lion and in front of the three hunters at the upper right. Much of its achievement here is due to the combination of the seeming *naïveté* of impossible shifts of scale between the landscape and its inhabitants, and the technical finesse of the artist. While this is glimpsed in the Victoria and Albert Museum painting at an early stage of its evolution, its culmination in the Cleveland painting, which we shall discuss below, produces an almost supernatural effect.

A contrasting, but contemporary, sequence is shown by another work, in the Welch Collection, which gives us a somewhat different presentation of a similarly visionary landscape (fig. 92). It depicts Krishna (or Rama) hunting by night, and an inscription records the name of the painter as Bhimsen, and the date as 1781.<sup>86</sup> The painting is less technically refined than the 1778 hunt – indicative of a personal stylistic difference. The moonlit landscape, with its barren, angular trees – characteristic of specific areas of Kota State, to be mentioned later – predicts the similar treatment found in the famous painting of Ram Singh II of Kota hunting (fig. 103), in the Gopi Krishna Kanoria Collection; and together with the familiar motifs and treatment of frightened deer and running boar, and the figure types, argues strongly for the Kota provenance of the work, although it has recently been attributed to Bundi.<sup>87</sup>

In a section of Kota Palace known as *Bada Mahal* are several hunting scenes painted on

<sup>85</sup> Sherman E. Lee, "The Decorative and the Super-Real", *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, October, 1957.

<sup>86</sup> The inscription reads: S. 1838 chitrakar bhimsen.

<sup>87</sup> GTP, no. 57.

paper, but attached to the walls and covered with glass, an installation probably made in the early twentieth century. They are in identical style; three are inscribed with the name of the Kota ruler Umed Singh, and one is dated 1786 (fig. 93). A painting of exactly the same type is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and has been published by Archer with a date, 1770.<sup>88</sup> In contrast to the very individualistic works reproduced in figs. 91 and 92, this group seems to be the result almost of mass-production. Hunting scenes were obviously in sufficient demand that a series of abbreviations were developed to allow quicker execution. Jungles were depicted by massing similar and boldly shaped, often leafless, trees; mountain ranges were drawn by repeating a simple generalized form in horizontal sequence; and faces of minor figures were given only token differentiation.

While such hunting scenes were a prominently popular subject in Kota painting of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, there are many indications that a large number of paintings of more traditional subjects centering around women at leisure can also be attributed to the state at this time. These are in the finely executed, so-called "white" style (because of the often pale palette and the use of large areas of white for backgrounds) which have hitherto not been associated with Kota, but with Bundi. We noted in the *Rasikapriya* page of fig. 88 that smooth and modelled surfaces replaced the roughness of the Ram Singh I period, although retaining many elements of the earlier phase. And we mentioned as well the dated painting of 1764 (fig. 89) as a point when this new interest in technical execution became less retrospective, initiating a new stylistic phase. While remembering that these concerns are those of only one element of the Kota workshops, it seems that the end of this particular tradition can be found in a painting of a woman bathing (fig. 94), in a private collection. This shows at the upper window the young, already aureoled Ram Singh II (r. 1827-65) of Kota, and therefore is datable almost exactly to 1827, the year of his accession. That the scene is closely related to the 1764 painting is shown by a comparison of figure types, modelling, and color; although the later page is a great deal rougher in composition, and uses stock figures known in other paintings as well. Both the elderly woman and the bather are known from a *Sat Sai* of Bihari manuscript (fig. 95) from Kota now in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares, and the bather is seen as an isolated figure in several other works.<sup>89</sup> There is no reason to continue this aspect of the Kota style beyond the first years of Ram Singh II's reign. The abundant attributable and dated material indicates that other works commissioned by him had lost the smoothness of treatment we note here.

A second, smaller painting of a lady bathing (fig. 96), once in the Welch Collection, is attributable to Kota both because of the resemblance of its heroine to the attendant with the mirror in the bathing scene of fig. 94, and because of the resemblance of both these in physical type to the ladies painted during the Ram Singh II period (compare figs. 97 and 98). We can expand this group to include a large number of works previously attributed to Bundi, many of which are in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (e.g. fig. 99). Prominent among these is a by now well-published work in the collection of John Kenneth Galbraith, entitled *Woman Yearning for her Lover*,<sup>90</sup> and a dispersed *Ragamala* (fig. 100), numbering well over one hundred pages, a large

<sup>88</sup> IPBK, no. 37.

<sup>89</sup> Additional paintings using the bathing figure are in the Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala, Poona; the collection of Dr. Moti Chandra; the Victoria and Albert Museum (I.S. 116-1949); and *Abar-e-Iran*, vol. ii (1937), plate 66, p. 191. The source of the figure, probably European, is not presently known.

<sup>90</sup> GTP, p. 41 (in color), and no. 56. It is published also in Randhawa and Galbraith, *Indian Painting*, Pl. 15.

section of which is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.<sup>91</sup> Both the male and female figures of the latter clearly derive from the canons used in, for example, the Mukundgarh hunt (figs. 60 and 67) and the *Rasikapriya* of ca. 1750 (fig. 88). The distinctively Kota drawing of the eye is everywhere in evidence, although the modelling and coloring conform to the later developments in such details as the use of thin, black (rather than red) lines to structure surfaces. One page from the *Ragamala*, presently on the New York art market, bears the date S. 1831 = 1774 A.D. It is not part of a formal inscription, so that its reliability is dubious at best – although a fuller colophon is reputed to exist.

One further manuscript, a *Ragamala* with two hundred and fifty illustrations (fig. 42), must be mentioned.<sup>92</sup> It is in the Saraswati Bhandar, Udaipur, and has a colophon naming as its patron Maharani Ranawatji, the Udaipuri wife of Maharao Goman Singh of Kota. It was painted at Nandgaon<sup>93</sup> (in Kota State) by Dalu, "son of Ram Kishen", and two pages bear dates: 1766 (on folio 3) and 1768 (on folio 249). We briefly noted the set above, for it has many characteristics in common with Bundi painting: the broad, polished red borders of the pages, and the narrow black and silver borders to the illustrations; compositions; and, most particularly, basic figure types. Dalu, like Mira Bagas at Uniara, may have been the victim of the decline of painting at Bundi.

It is precisely the characteristics not typical of Bundi that causes the manuscript to enter our discussion here, however: the more refined, smoother modelling, less energetic in effect, is that seen in the various relevant paintings from Kota. Otherwise, the paintings have no perceptible Kota traits, despite incontrovertible evidence of origin.

### *The Nineteenth Century*

A comparison was made between a detail from the work showing a woman bathing (fig. 97), of the Welch Collection, and one of the ladies in the scene of Ram Singh II of Kota at Gangore festival (fig. 98, a detail from fig. 101). The latter is dated by inscription to 1835, and shows the general direction of painting at Kota as it continued under Ram Singh II's rule. If we compare both of these details to one from the 1764 court scene (fig. 90), this development is made more explicit. In the bathing scene, the elements so well balanced in the court scene are no longer under control. The shading under the chin of the central figure, while still finely drawn, is now obvious; the shape of the eye is elongated and exaggerated; and the expression on the face is more blatant. These are marks of an art past its prime. In the painting of 1835, there is no longer even the pretense of an interest in technical finesse, and with the removal of the smoothly modelled surfaces of the earlier works, the images take on a stronger, rougher, and fresher character that is thereby close to the first Kota painting. This is a development seen in almost all the Rajput schools, and is credited to the demise of Mughal trained artists, and, more im-

<sup>91</sup> All the pages in Boston are reproduced in P. Pal, *Ragamala Paintings*, Boston: 1967.

<sup>92</sup> See note 71.

<sup>93</sup> B.N. Goswamy believes Nandgaon, which has not otherwise been identified, to be an auspicious way of referring to Kota town itself. It is referred to as well in the Darash palace inscription quoted on page 29.

portantly, to the end of the "trend-setting" Mughal court, and the changes of taste it engendered.

This evolution is confirmed by many works, the most important being the two well-known hunting scenes already referred to: an illustration of ladies hunting (fig. 102), in the Cleveland Museum of Art; and a page portraying Ram Singh II similarly occupied (fig. 103), in the Kanoria Collection. The compositions of both are based on the same physical setting seen from identical vantage points,<sup>94</sup> and almost certainly depict the territory now known as the Darah Hunting Preserve, where the present Maharao leads paying customers. The landscape of this area, with its watch-towers and barren, stunted, white trees is exactly that seen in these illustrations, as photographs reproduced here show (Plates A and B). It is known to have been a popular hunting ground through Tod's "Personal Narrative", for he made the following description in the passages written from "Rowtah", presently called Rautha, about eight miles from Darah:

As we were now in the vicinity of the chief *Rumna* (i.e. hunting ground) in Harouti, the Raj Rana proposed to exhibit the mode in which they carry on their grand hunts ... we proceeded to the *Shikargas*, a hunting seat, erected halfway up the gentle ascent, having terraced roofs and parapets, on which the sportsman lays his gun to massacre the game; and here we waited some time in anxious anticipation, occasionally some deer scudding by. Gradually the din of the hunters reached us, increasing into tumultuous shouts, with the beating of drums, and all the varieties of discord. Soon various kind of deer galloped wildly past, succeeded by *nilgaes*, *bara-singas*, red and spotted. Some wild hogs went off snorting and trotting, and at length, as the hunters approached, a bevy of animals, amongst which some black-snouted hyenas were seen, who made a dead halt when they saw themselves between two fires. There was no tiger, however, in the assemblage, which rather disappointed us, but the still more curious wild-dog was seen by some. A slaughter commenced, the effects of which I judged less at the time, but soon after I got to my tents I found six camelloads of deer, of various kinds, deposited ... it was an exhilarating scene; the confusion of the animals, their wild dismay at this compulsory association; the yells, shouts, and din from four battalions of regulars, who, in addition to the ordinary band of huntsmen, formed a chain from the summit of the mountain, across the valley to the opposite heights; and, last not least, the placid Regent himself listening to the tumult he could no longer witness, produced an effect not easily forgotten ...<sup>95</sup>

Tod's description matches almost exactly what we see in the two hunting scenes under discussion: figs. 102 and 103, as well as the dated hunt of fig. 92. Yet however similar the former two are in compositional elements, they are utterly different in style. The page in Cleveland (fig. 102) is painstakingly executed, with a technical precision associated in the West with surrealist artists; while the Kanoria hunt (fig. 103) is more sketchily drawn. The differences correspond to – and develop – those noted in, respectively, the Victoria and Albert Museum painting of 1778 (fig. 91), and Krishna hunting by night, dated 1781 (fig. 92). Both the later works are filled with minute, but intensely observed detail, such as the animal life in the underbrush, and both are superb paintings. Yet it is the Cleveland picture that is the real culmination of the quality of "super-reality", most obviously displayed in the almost hallucinatory landscape at the upper right – an effect naturally and legitimately derived from such terrain as that at Darah.

<sup>94</sup> A late nineteenth century painting with the same setting is in the Nasli and Alice Heermaneck Collection.

<sup>95</sup> Tod, vol. ii, p. 562.

We can date the Kanoria painting to no earlier than 1840, for the Maharao is markedly older than in the Gangore festival scene of 1835. The Cleveland painting, as much because of its technique as its visual outlook, must be earlier.<sup>96</sup> The figure types are not yet as exaggerated (e.g. in the size or elongation of the eye) as in other works attributable to that period: the bathing scene of fig. 96, the Gangore painting (fig. 101), or the Kanoria hunt. This, together with the technique, may indicate a date near 1800.

The period of Ram Singh II is well-documented by dated paintings; in the *Bada Mahal* alone there are examples on paper from 1828, 1831, 1833, 1839, 1845, 1847, and 1857. There is no outstanding stylistic change within this group, although, together with other known works from the period, they relate a progressive drying up and weakening of the various stylistic components. By the reign of Chattar Singh (r. 1865–88), who is also depicted in a celebration of Gangore in the Victoria and Albert Museum,<sup>97</sup> we find weak portraiture, flattened compositions, and abbreviated, decorative landscapes, that are nonetheless often animated and lively. In an illustration of two Kota princes riding to a *mela* (fair) (fig. 104), dated 1888, compositional poverty has combined with a palette dominated by European blues and greens, and traditional modes of painting at Kota can be considered finished.

Our understanding of Kota painting in the nineteenth century is generally that of an art in decline; the notable exceptions did not alter the historical progression. Yet that this is an incomplete interpretation is evident from an examination of the enormous quantity of drawings and sketches available which are known to have come from Kota artists' families. At their best, these show a spontaneity, experimentalism, and depth of portraiture and wit that is absent from most of the paintings made on royal commission. It may be that the imagination of the artists could not sustain itself in the relative complexity of a painting – or that such intimate studies were out of place in the endless hunting scenes and ceremonial portraits demanded by the rulers. Or, and most likely, that the growing taste for British prints and British type scenes – one result of which is the portrait of Ram Singh II in an English carriage (fig. 106) – made such work unappealing to the Maharao. We might conclude from this that the slow decease of Kota painting was not a failure of the artists, but of the patrons.

It was from the British, however, that the artists took ideas for many of their sketches. These range from portraits of notable Englishmen in straightforward Kota style (fig. 107) – found in court scenes from the Kishore Singh (r. 1819–27) period onward – to portraits of both Indians and Englishmen, original compositions and copies, based on more European sensibilities. Figs. 108 and 109, for example, both present remarkably perceptive caricatures: the first of a rather limp youth, the second of a snarling, nasty woman. Another drawing (fig. 110) concentrates on simple, expressive hand gestures, modelling them in a quite Western manner.

In 1817, when Kota joined itself to the British protectorate, an article was added to the treaty which made the offices of *foujdar* hereditary in Zalim Singh's family. On the death, in 1819, of Umed Singh, who had signed the original document, his successor Kishore Singh withdrew to Jaipur, called together his own nobles and neighboring chiefs, and, with a large force, marched on Kota in an attempt to dislodge the Regent. He was defeated by a British army and fled to the holy sanctuary of Nathadvara, returning only after negotiations had restored

<sup>96</sup> W. G. Archer (*IPBK*, fig. 42 and 45), dates the Cleveland scene to ca. 1840, and the Kanoria picture ca. 1830.

<sup>97</sup> *IPBK*, fig. 54.

his "supreme" power over his private lands while forcing him anew to acknowledge Zalim Singh's rule over Kota. The agreement he signed, on November 22, 1821, is at once both amusing and touching, and instantly provokes sympathy for both the ruler and his historical role. The first article begins

To all that the British government may command I shall cheerfully submit, and whatever through you may be determined as regards my future comforts and establishments, I shall offer no objections ...<sup>98</sup>

With Zalim Singh's death in 1824, the Regency passed to his son, Madho Singh, who held it briefly and ineffectively; and whose successor, Madan Singh, so continually quarrelled with Ram Singh II that the arrangement could obviously not continue. In 1838, the British attempted to cure the situation by ceding to Madan Singh seventeen districts of Kota territory, and authorizing the establishment of a separate state. The capital, Jhalawar, was built between Jhalra-Patan, an ancient temple site, and Gurgaon, the early home of the Khichis, but more recently Zalim Singh's headquarters. Prithi Singh succeeded in 1845 and, unlike Kota, afforded protection to the British during the Mutiny. Late in the century, the lands taken from Kota were restored, and only the personal family properties allowed to remain with Zalim Singh's descendants.

The Palace at Jhalawar, now holding government offices, is decorated with late and not particularly attractive floral paintings, and portraits after European models. In the local Museum, a repository for part of the rulers' collections, is a series of portraits of Madan Singh painted in Kota style, but of lesser quality than the work of Ram Singh II's atelier.

#### *Wall-paintings*

The *Bada Mahal* of Kota Palace, to which we have referred, consists of a central courtyard, on one side of which the walls of a small terrace have twelve applied and glazed paintings, including those we have mentioned (e.g. fig. 93). On the opposite side, a terrace room is decorated with dados of relief-carved marble, above which paintings from many different schools have again been attached, surrounding niches with wall-paintings. Off the latter area is an inner room with both glazed and wall-paintings. The earliest of those actually painted on the walls seem to date from the late eighteenth century, although sections were later repainted during the reign of Ram Singh II with completely new compositions that cut across and ruined whatever unity the original decorations had. Datable to ca. 1780, on the basis of its similarity to the dated paintings on paper (e.g. fig. 93), is the section shown in fig. 111.

In worse condition are related paintings in rooms off a courtyard at the top of the building now known as Jhala House (fig. 112), a detached palace within the Fort enclosure that was the residence of Zalim Singh, therefore, presumably, the patron of the illustrations. Apartments for members of the *zenana*, these rooms were not later repainted, so that the original artistic con-

<sup>98</sup> *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries*, compiled by C. U. Aitchison, Calcutta: 1876, vol. iii, p. 154.

ception can be judged as a whole, although the colors have faded beyond recognition and much of the surface has peeled off, as the view reproduced indicates. Around the top of the room at the right is a continuous hunting scene in the style of about 1780, similar to that of fig. 111 in the *Bada Mahal*; while below, mainly in niches, are a series of paintings of stock subjects centering around women at leisure. Similar scenes are found in a second room (fig. 113).

A third complex of wall-paintings, probably of a slightly earlier period, is in the pavilion reportedly called *Chattar Mahal*, again in the Palace proper. One wall of this room is covered with an enormous hunting scene (figs. 114 and 115), much of which is simply composed of individual combat scenes roughly united by the landscape. Among these is the almost exact adaptation of the rhinoceros hunt which we have mentioned (fig. 74). The scene is different in several ways from the Umed Singh hunts: tree types are freer, compositions less consciously rhythmic, and facial types more traditional, squarer and heavier. This is true as well of scenes of Krishna worship on a second wall (fig. 116).

Probably of the Chattar Singh period, as that ruler is the last depicted in a family tree included in the composition, are the wall-paintings in the *Raj Mahal*, the Maharao's *darbar* hall in Kota Palace, and in a nearby closed room where the pigments have remained absolutely fresh. The *Raj Mahal* scenes are drawn both from legend and history (fig. 117), and include, for example, an illustration of the clocktower in the main *chowk* of Kota town. The strongest section shows a forest of trees, a late equivalent for the trees of the Umed Singh period hunting scenes. An open interior room behind the *darbar* hall proper is decorated with scenes which seem relatively modern repaintings (or recolorings) of older compositions. The formal gardens and pavilions remind one of seventeenth century work.

One further aspect of Kota painting has not yet been mentioned: the paintings of the Brijnath Temple in Kota Palace. This is the Maharao's personal place of worship; and, with Kishangarh, is one of the main centers for followers of the devotional sect established by Vallabhacarya in the late fifteenth century. The parent temple, at Nathadvara, north of Udaipur, is known to have fostered an enormous number of artists, whose task was to turn out icons of Krishna in the form of Nathji, for pilgrims to buy and set up in their homes. In addition, some artists painted large banners (*pichbhawai*), often with human figures, to hang around the image of the god housed in the temple. Because of the rather strict format of the various paintings, it has always been assumed that they were all executed at Nathadvara. In fact, they can also be attributed to several other centers, including both Kishangarh and Kota. A typical Kota example is shown in fig. 118, where the provenance is clear because of the style and which can be dated to Ram Singh II's reign. There are similar paintings within the sanctuary of the Brijnath Temple, but they are inaccessible to close examination by the visitor; while in the *Bada Mahal*, besides an enormous quantity of paintings on paper depicting worshippers at the shrine of Nathji (a stock design seen also in wall-paintings at Jhala House), there are wall-paintings in which two unidentified men appear, in both religious and secular contexts. They are shown together in a niche painting in the outer room, and riding on an elephant, the most important personages in a large processional scene in the inner room (fig. 119). In each case, one of the figures is clearly subservient to the other and in attendance on him. The same man appears in many paintings on paper attributable to Kota as the Brahmin worshipping Nathji, while his superior is found in *pichbhawai*s depicting the hereditary successors to the priesthood of Na-

thadvara.<sup>99</sup> It thus would seem that the first man is the chief priest (*maharaja*) of the Nathadvara Temple on the occasion of a visit. A second processional scene, a compositional continuation of the first, and clearly by the same hand, is inscribed with the information that it represents Ram Singh II at his accession in 1827. We may thus suppose that the scene shows his installation, a ceremony at which the Maharaja of Nathadvara would certainly have been present. The result of all this is a fairly accurate date for certain Kota temple paintings. The style of these icons is indistinct from Kota works generally, and there is no reason to think that they were not all made by the same group of artists.

<sup>99</sup> Examples are in the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta.

## PAINTING AT RAGHUGARH

There are vast quantities of additional painting which are attributable, in the most general way, to the Bundi and Kota spheres of influence. These do not, in most cases, form themselves into sufficiently large groups or sequences to allow definite attributions of provenances to be made. It is possible that some were made for the rulers themselves, perhaps by artists of more individual outlook or not related to the main group of painters, or not trained in the Bundi or Kota workshops. More likely is the possibility that many were painted for other patrons, perhaps at lesser courts. It must now be admitted that almost every Rajasthani court, however minor, had painters in its employ during some period of its history. And it would be very surprising if such important *thikanas* of Kota and Bundi as Indegarh, or Ghatolli, did not patronize artists; indeed, hereditary collections of paintings remained with the descendants of these chiefs until recently. With the dispersion of such collections, however, the data for gauging local styles vanishes. We can identify portraits of rulers of both those estates, but they are insufficient in quantity to be related in any very rewarding way. The value of family collections is most evident in examining the group of paintings which was acquired by the National Museum, New Delhi, from Sarola *thikana* in Kota. The collection was vast, ostensibly containing about twenty-five thousand items, including virtually all the major Bundi and Kota series in the museum, as well as smaller groups of works from other Rajput schools, especially in Central India, which Sarola bordered. A further indication of the discrepancy in both wealth and interest in painting between Bundi and Kota is the fact that while many other major paintings have been acquired from Kota collections (e.g. the Chunar *Ragamala*), collections of similar size and scope were not at all common in Bundi. Much of this amassing of material took place in the nineteenth or early twentieth centuries.

Included in the Sarola Collection were more than five hundred portraits, a major portion of which centers around a group of Khichi Chauhan rulers, whose capital was at Raghugarh, in Malwa, Central India. According to the *Imperial Gazetteer*,<sup>100</sup> the Khichis migrated south from the Punjab after the defeat of Prithvi Raj Chauhan by the Muslims in 1192. They established themselves at Gurgaon, which Dev Singh Khichi received in grant from the Emperor of Delhi in 1203. It is Malcolm's *Memoirs of Central India*,<sup>101</sup> however, that gives us a full account of the family. He relates that Ghurib Das was a ranking noble at Akbar's court, and that his son, Lal Singh, who succeeded, founded Raghugarh, where he was visited by Shah Jahan. Lal Singh died at the age of seventy and was succeeded by Dhiraj Singh, who married a daughter each to

<sup>100</sup> *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. xxi, pp. 34ff.

<sup>101</sup> Malcolm, op.cit., vol. i, pp. 463ff.

Jaipur and Udaipur. His eldest son and intended successor, Gaj Singh, was expelled by his half-brother, Vikramajit, who was supported by Jaipur, to whom his sister was married. Udaipur was similarly allied to Gaj Singh, whom it defended in vain, for he died early in the struggle. Gaj Singh's son, Indra Singh, was too weak to press his own claims until his uncle had died, at which point he was slain attempting to defeat his cousin, Balabhadra. Balabhadra, who is the person most often depicted in the Sarola Collection portraits, became a favorite of Malhar Rao Holkar and the Sindhia family, and died about 1780 at the age of sixty. When his son, Balwant Singh, succeeded, Mahadji Sindhia demanded the forfeiture of several land districts in tribute, and later attached and confiscated Raghugarh Fort (1785) and the family territories with the excuse that he believed Balwant Singh to have made a treaty with the British, with whom Sindhia was at war. Both the ruler and his son, Jai Singh, were imprisoned, whereupon a Khichi *thakur* (baronet), along with other of Balwant Singh's adherents, began a systematic series of attacks on the Maratha. He also arranged that the inhabitants of Raghugarh be removed to, and quartered in, Bhopal, so that there would be no income from Raghugarh for Sindhia. Sher Singh, the *thakur*, reportedly effected the escape from confinement of Jai Singh by enlisting the aid of a band of thieves, one of whom leaped the walls of the fort with the prince on his shoulders. Jai Singh continued a series of guerrilla attacks on the Deccanis, with the aid of the Nawab of Bhopal, and captured Sindhia's general, the Frenchman Jean Baptiste Filose. He also went to both Jaipur and Jodhpur and enlisted aid, those rulers interceding with Mahadji Sindhia to release Balwant Singh and restore him to Raghugarh at the cost of a substantial tribute. Not unexpectedly, Raghugarh had by then so declined that no income was forthcoming. The territory was again seized, and Balwant Singh retired to Jaipur. Jai Singh eventually inherited the throne in 1798, at the age of twenty-eight, and has been described as well-educated and brave. Unfortunately, he was viciously cruel as well. Most noted for his excessive devotion to Hanuman, the monkey god, he sought communication with the simian through opium and superstitious rituals. He finally went mad, turned murderous, and died in 1818. From this point, the history of Raghugarh, which remained turbulent for many years, is beyond our concern.

We know from the quantity of identifiable portraits that Raja Balabhadra Singh of Raghugarh was an avid, if not especially brilliant, patron of painting. Depictions are known as well of everyone mentioned in the Raghugarh genealogy (Appendix D), as well as minor members and friends of the court (e.g. the Jaipur rulers). These are readily inter-related by copious inscriptions, and by the recurrence of such details as the common use of a distinctive turban type, and the incessant use of the patterned rug that we see in *figs. 120 and 121*. The portraits can be put into a sequence that reveals a modest qualitative level that is stylistically related to the Hara courts (especially Kota, where similarities of coinage have also been noted),<sup>102</sup> but not possibly to be confused with the paintings already mentioned; the relationship is thus quite different from that of Bundi and Uniara.

The portraits of Raja Balabhadra (e.g. *fig. 120*) reveals this Kota analogy in the drawing of the eyes: the heavy-lidded eyes of the musicians, and the more smoothly drawn eye of both the Raja and his attendant. Since Balabhadra appears here older than in other portraits, where he

<sup>102</sup> R. Burn, "The Bajranggarh Mint", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1897, part 1.

is also considerably more robust, and as we know that he died about 1780 at the age of sixty, the work might be dated about 1770.

A painting showing Raja Vikramajit (*fig. 121*), Balabhadra Singh's father, may be contemporary with the ruler, whose dates we do not know. It would seem to be a stylistic fore-bearer of the Balabhadra Singh portraits, for its accentuated modelling in red and firm facial structure recalls Kota work of the earlier eighteenth century. We cannot put a definite date on the portrait, but suggest about 1750 (or somewhat earlier) as reasonable. Its main interest to us lies in the fact that it is inscribed with the name of the painter: Jindu,<sup>103</sup> a man who must have been responsible for many of the paintings from the state.

Jindu's work is an immediate source also for a portrait showing Raja Balwant Singh, Balabhadra's son, with Kunvar Jai Singh (*fig. 122*), but here more eccentric variations are being introduced: the eye is becoming elongated, and faces are losing their predetermined squarish shape for a more natural and individualistically characterized portraiture. Shading, however, especially on the attendants, remains rather heavy.

These developing traits are shown in more extreme form in many additional uninscribed series of paintings from the Sarola Collection, including a *Ragamala* set, from which an illustration of "Vasant Ragini" is shown in *fig. 123*. (All the *Ragamala* paintings attributable to Raghugarh follow the Chunar iconography). The faces of the women conform closely in type to the attendant figures in the portraits reproduced here as *figs. 120* and *122*, but with an unnaturally severe modelling of cheek and eye especially. This is further developed in later pages, where the figure type is much more extreme, the coloring increasingly weak, and landscape reduced to a flat surface pattern.

Among other works is an *Aniruddha-Usha* set (*fig. 124*) which must also be attributed to Raghugarh. Here the figure types seem earlier, closer to the portrait of Balabhadra than to the *Ragamala* pages. Yet the detail which argues most strongly for the provenance is shown in the coloring of the bolsters and rugs in several pages: it is a very wetly applied, and unevenly dried, solid dark purple; a crude but distinctive trait that is found in innumerable portraits in the Sarola Collection of both Rajas Balabhadra and Balwant Singh, and is also seen in the cushion behind Vikramajit in *fig. 121*. The *Aniruddha-Usha* series agrees with the portraits in general color as well.

There are many other paintings, both in the Sarola Collection in the National Museum, and the collections of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Sangram Singh, Gopi Krishna Kanoria, and Stuart C. Welch that relate to the above. We cannot be sure in each case that the provenance is necessarily Raghugarh, for our knowledge of painting in the area is at present too sparse. It is possible that closely allied styles were practiced at other Khichi courts (perhaps at Khilchipur, founded in 1544 and bordered on its north by Kota). We are prevented for the present of making further attributions within the Sarola group by a lack of even the most basic historical information.

Probably not of Raghugarh provenance, but similar to those works and differing from the Kota style in much the same way, are two inscribed portraits of much finer quality: of Rana Ratan Singh, in the Victoria and Albert Museum,<sup>104</sup> and of Maharaja Prabh Singh (*fig. 125*). We have not been able to trace either man to a specific court. Both works rely on the heavy and

<sup>103</sup> The inscription reads: ... *likhi jindu cāterā*, "written by Jindu the painter".

<sup>104</sup> *Apollo*, September 1968, p. 179.

rather extreme shading of faces that we remarked upon at Raghugarh, and which originates, probably, in such works as the drawing of Bhoj Singh slaying a lion (*fig. 86*). The Welch painting is more subtly composed than the Victoria and Albert Museum portrait, showing greater variety and control in the drawing of figures, and much greater liveliness in the jungle and the composition generally. Curiously, the larger rug in this portrait seems identical to those seen constantly in the Raghugarh paintings.

## POSTSCRIPT

In recent months, several paintings have been discovered which give us important new information about the schools of Kota and Raghugarh. We will reproduce here, together with brief comments, works from the former group; but reference should at least be made to the sale in 1971 of the collections of the Maharaja of Raghugarh, from which many notable paintings are now in the collection of Jagdish Mittal, Hyderabad. Mr. Mittal now intends to publish in the near future a study of the Raghugarh school, and this will reveal works of a quality and interest not found in the Sarola group of the National Museum of India, and of a substantially earlier date. Mention should also be made of the discovery of a signed and dated (1740 A.D.) painting by Jindu (the painter of fig. 121): a study of two standing men, in the possession of a Bombay dealer, and not available to photograph. This confirms the chronological position Jindu's works seemed by visual criteria to hold in the Raghugarh sequence.

The first of the Kota illustrations we wish to discuss is a scene of two elephants fighting (fig. 126). It is in the State Museum, Lucknow, and bears an inscription on the reverse stating that it is the work of Niju, made in 1725 A.D. for Maharao Durjan Sal of Kota.<sup>109</sup> Really a drawing rather than a painting, it can first be compared to the similar scene, datable to ca. 1695, in the collection of Howard Hodgkin, London, and reproduced as fig. 75. Much of the spontaneity of the latter, and the energy of individual lines, is missing from the Lucknow work, and this is most obvious when comparing the variations in treatment of the animals' ears. In addition, the work by Niju shows greater concern for modelling and smooth transitions in highlighted areas, although in both cases this is achieved by linear means. More significantly, the extraordinary abstract forms generated in the London drawing, especially where the two elephants' heads and trunks meet, are absent from the dated page. The facial types in the latter link the Hodgkin figures (or, better, the riders in fig. 71, more typically Kota in style) with those in Bhoj Singh of Bundi Slays a Lion (figs. 86 and 87), dated ca. 1740 A.D.; there, the shading is even more extreme, and the individuality of types more pronounced. As the earliest dated Kota painting presently known, the Lucknow Elephant Fight is an important document for the establishment of early Kota chronology, and it clearly defines the direction and concerns of Kota painting during the first half of the eighteenth century.

In the collections of the Saraswati Bhendar, Udaipur, there is a *Dhola-Maru* manuscript (fig. 127), the colophon of which states that it was written for Maharao Chattar Sal in 1762 A.D. by Jyotirvid (Astrologer) Kushal Ram at Nandgaon. The latter town, of course, was mentioned

<sup>109</sup> I am much indebted to Vinod Dwivedi for showing me photographs of the painting and its inscription.

as the provenance of the Saraswati Bhandar *Ragamala* of 1766–68 (fig. 42),<sup>110</sup> and the two series are closely related in stylistic outlook. We wish first, however, to compare the *Dhola-Maru* set to the 1760 *Bhagavata Purana* in the Kota Museum (see fig. 83, possibly from that manuscript) and the Millikan portrait of Chattar Sal (fig. 82). All the paintings are identical in color range, which has been discussed above, and in the use of heavy linearized formulae for figural modelling, producing an occasionally swarthy effect which has been interpreted as an exaggeration of the traits developed at Kota in such works as Bhoj Singh of Bundi Slays a Lion (figs. 86 and 87). In the *Dhola-Maru*, however, there is a new element as well in such pages as fig. 127, in which the rough brushwork that gives Kota painting until the 1760s much of its distinctive character is replaced by a concern for surface textures and smoothness of modelling, soon to be followed by the elimination of strong color contrasts. The differences found in a comparison of the manuscripts of 1760 and 1762 emphasizes the important shift of interest that altered the Kota style so thoroughly and rapidly between 1760 and 1770, introducing into it more modern, if not necessarily more appealing, characteristics. We have noted already the role of the 1764 portrait of Chattar Sal (fig. 89) in crystallizing these new traits.

A further word might also be said about the dated *Ragamala* of 1766–68 (fig. 42), since it has recently been lengthily inspected. It seems a straightforward advance and development of those traits which distinguish the 1762 *Dhola-Maru* from the 1760 *Bhagavat*, presented in a format reminiscent of what is thought to be contemporary Bundi painting, as mentioned above. A comparison of a dated posthumous portrait of Durjan Sal of Kota (1771 A.D.) (fig. 128) and the Millikan portrait of ca. 1760 (fig. 82) capsulizes the development which the three dated manuscripts so efficiently chart. In the 1771 portrait, it is the fineness of drawing of the maharao's skirt and the trappings of the horse which first commands our interest, rather than an overall rhythmic pattern. These innovations lead directly into the *Ragamala* of fig. 100 and the great series of hunting scenes of the 1770s and 1780s.

Three of these latter large-scale works have recently been acquired by Kunvar Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh. All are inscribed, and the artists' names are given: Hans Raj Joshi (for an example dated 1777 A.D.) (fig. 129), Gumanji (dated 1779) (fig. 130), and Man, "son of Sheikh Taju" (undated) (fig. 131). A second example by the first painter, dated 1787 A.D., was recently on the New Delhi market, while Sheikh Taju is known from an unfinished but signed drawing of a hunt, dated 1780 A.D., also in the collection of Kunvar Sangram Singh. The latter work is a study for a major painting in the collection of the Jodhpur *darbar*, on which an inscription is not presently visible.

An eventual careful analysis of the styles of these four painters – none of whose names have previously been recorded – may allow us to make a substantial number of individual attributions for the many similar hunting scenes of the period.<sup>111</sup> In the three examples reproduced, distinctive traits can begin to be isolated: in fig. 129, for example, the trees are very evenly spaced at top and bottom, those in the upper row being alternately tan and grey – and branches tend

<sup>110</sup> See note 93.

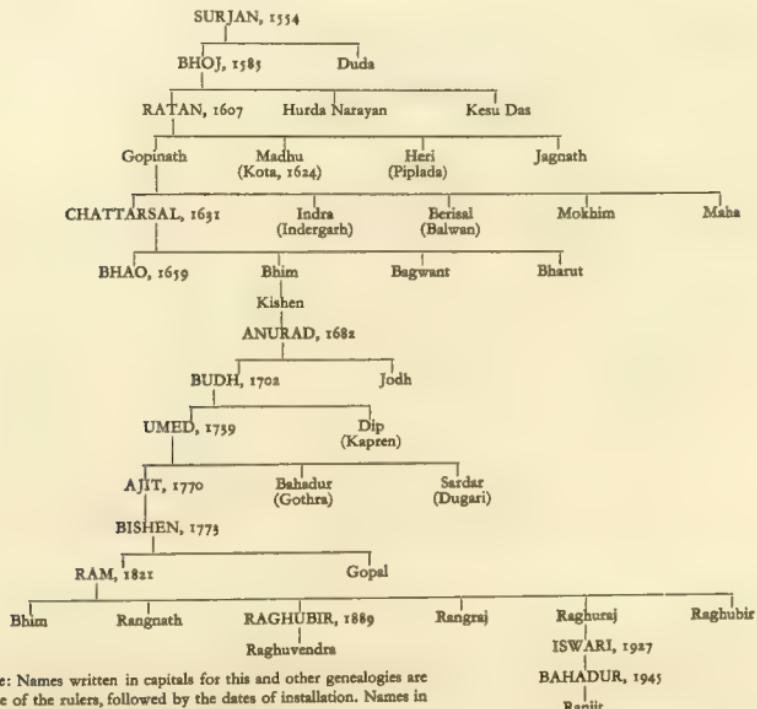
<sup>111</sup> Other examples are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (*IPBK*, figs. 38 and 40), the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (unpublished, but by the same hand as *IPBK*, fig. 40), the Cleveland Museum of Art (Lee, *Rajput Painting*, fig. 38), the Fogg Art Museum, the Collection of Jagdish Mittal, Hyderabad; and applied to the walls of the *Bada Mabal*, Kota Palace (see fig. 93).

to end in a double-pronged fork; while in *fig. 131*, the stripes on the tigers are evenly spaced and parallel, giving the animals a smoothly inflated quality. Of such minutiae are attributions born. That at least four painters were employed contemporaneously on so many works of such limited stylistic range suggests a central workshop under very tight control. There is very little stylistic reference in these hunting scenes to Kota painting before 1760; rather, in color and attitude to human figures, they descend from the 1764 portrait to which we repeatedly return. And since we know that that work was made under the direct patronage of Rao Raja Zalim Singh, we are led again to question whether this new direction in Kota painting does not reflect his taste, and the vitality in other spheres of activity which we can unquestionably attribute to the years of his government at Kota.

This study, hopefully, has made clear that it is hazardous, at best, to attribute Rajasthani paintings by purely visual means (i. e. connoisseurship), until a reliable framework can be built up from historical and inscriptive evidence. The stylistic proximity of paintings from Bundi and Uniara is alone sufficient proof of this. Yet while visual material is abundant, if scattered, inscriptions are subject to varying interpretations, and historical sources, the careful day-by-day records of events kept at most Rajput courts, are still – almost without exception – in the archives of descendants of the former ruling families, and seldom accessible to anyone. For the *milieu* of Rajput painting, however, we can find worthwhile information in the accounts of such historians as Tod and Malcolm, and, of course, in the paintings themselves. The life they conjure up is one of unrivalled egotism and eccentricity; it both intrigues and appalls. The paintings, however, inevitably persuade us to respond to their world with sympathy and insight.

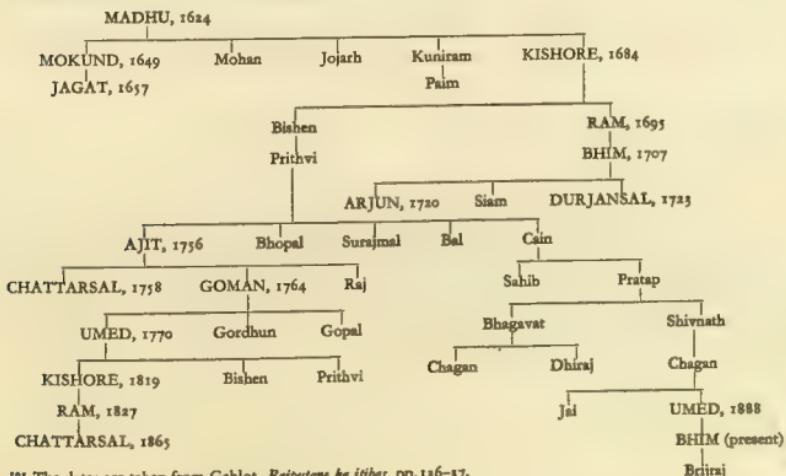
## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A: *Bundi Genealogy*<sup>105</sup>



Note: Names written in capitals for this and other genealogies are those of the rulers, followed by the dates of installation. Names in parentheses indicate assigned *idsirs*, when known.

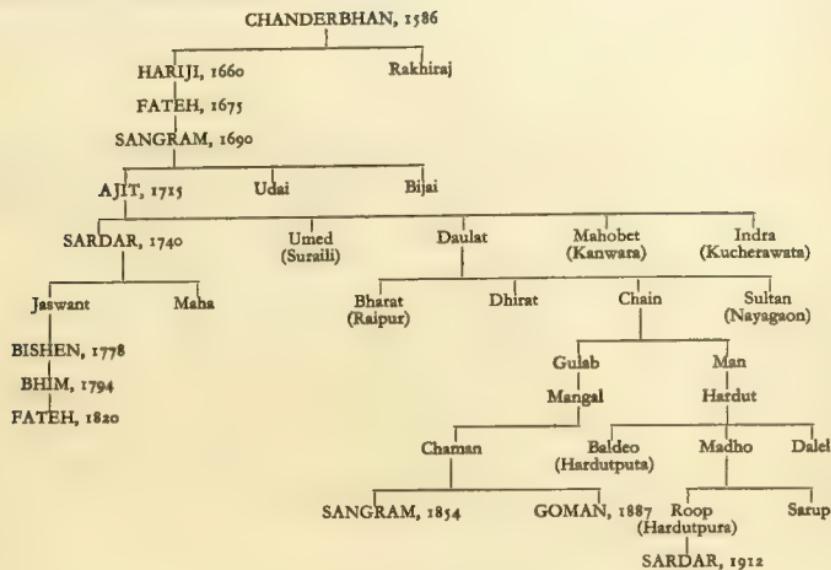
## APPENDIX B: *Kota Genealogy*<sup>106</sup>



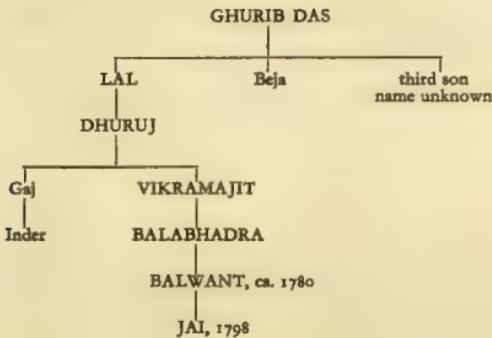
<sup>105</sup> The dates are taken from Gahlot, *Rajputana ka itibar*, pp. 136-37.

<sup>106</sup> Sharma, *Kota rajya ka itibas*, appendix.

APPENDIX C: *Uniara Genealogy*<sup>107</sup>



APPENDIX D: *Raghugarh Genealogy*<sup>108</sup>



<sup>107</sup> Agrawal, *Status of Uniara*, and Khosla, *India and the War*, vol. i, p. 70.

<sup>108</sup> Derived from Malcolm, op.cit., vol. i, pp. 463 ff.

**APPENDIX E: Major Inscribed Paintings from Bundi**

- 1591 A.D. *Ragamala* series. Dispersed. Figures 1, 2 and 6
- 1662 A.D. Couple Watching Pigeons. The Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares. Figures 17 and 23
- 1680 A.D. Portrait of Kunvar Anurad Singh of Bundi. By Tulchi Ram. The National Museum of India, New Delhi. Figure 27
- ca. 1680 A.D. Portrait of Bhao Singh of Bundi. By Tulchi. Collection of Kunvar Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh
- 1688 A.D. Lovers Viewing the New Moon. By Mohan. The Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Figure 29

**APPENDIX F: Major Inscribed Paintings from Kota**

- 1725 A.D. Two Elephants Fighting. By Niju. The State Museum, Lucknow. Figure 126
- 1759 A.D. Portrait of Chattar Sal of Kota. Kota Museum
- 1760 A.D. *Bhagavata Purana* manuscript. Kota Museum
- 1762 A.D. *Dhola-Maru* manuscript. Saraswati Bhandar, Udaipur. Figure 127
- 1764 A.D. Portrait of Chattar Sal of Kota with Members of the Court. Collection of Kunvar Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh. Figures 89 and 90
- 1766–68 A.D. *Ragamala* series. By Dalu, son of Ram Kishan. Saraswati Bhandar, Udaipur. Figure 42
- 1770 A.D. Portrait of Umed Singh of Kota. Kota Museum
- 1770 A.D. Umed Singh of Kota Hunting. The Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Published by W.G. Archer, *IPBK*. Figure 38
- 1771 A.D. Processional Portrait of Durjan Sal of Kota. Collection of Jagdish Mittal, Hyderabad. Figure 128.
- 1771 A.D. Umed Singh of Kota Hunting. The Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Published by W.G. Archer, op.cit., Figure 36
- 1777 A.D. Hunting Scene. By Hans Raj Joshi. Collection of Kunvar Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh. Figure 129
- 1778 A.D. Durjan Sal of Kota Hunting. The Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Figure 91
- 1779 A.D. Hunting Scene. By Gumanji. Collection of Kunvar Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh. Figure 130
- ca. 1780 A.D. Hunting Scene. By Man, son of Sheikh Taju. Collection of Kunvar Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh. Figure 131
- 1780 A.D. Hunting Scene (Unfinished Drawing). By Sheikh Taju. Collection of Kunvar Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh
- 1781 A.D. Krishna (or Rama) Hunting by Night. By Bhimsen. Collection of Stuart C. Welch. Figure 92
- 1786 A.D. Hunting near Kaithun. Collection of H.H. the Maharaja of Kota. Figure 93
- 1787 A.D. Hunting Scene. By Hans Raj Joshi. Collection of Ralph Benkaim, Beverley Hills
- 1799 A.D. Two Ladies. Collection of Kunvar Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh
- 1835 A.D. Ram Singh II of Kota at Gangore Festival. Collection of Stuart C. Welch. Figure 101
- 1845 A.D. Ram Singh II of Kota Hunting. Collection of H.H. the Maharaja of Jodhpur
- 1847 A.D. Ram Singh II of Kota and the Rawal of Jaisalmer Watching Wrestlers. Collection of Gopi Krishna Kanoria, Patna
- 1861 A.D. Two Portraits and Textile Designs (Drawing). By Manna, son of Lacchi Ram. Collection of Kunvar Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh

- 1875 A.D. Chhattar Sal of Kota at Ramgarh. By Lacchi Ram. Collection of Kunvar Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh
- 1888 A.D. Two Princes Riding to a *mela*. Private Collection. Figure 104

There are, in addition, paintings on paper with the following dates applied to the walls of the Bada Mahal, Kota Palace: 1828, 1831, 1833, 1839, 1845, 1847, and 1857.

#### APPENDIX G: *Major Inscribed Paintings from Uniara*

- 1743 A.D. Rama, Sita, Lakshman, and Hanuman. Frontispiece to a *Padmapurana* series. Attributed to Mira Bagas. Formerly Collection of Stuart C. Welch. Figure 56
- 1759 A.D. *Bhagavata Purana* manuscript. By Mira Bagas. Uniara Collection. Figures 48 and 49
- ca. 1760-80 A.D. *Ramayana* manuscript. Attributed (in part) to Mira Bagas. Uniara Collection. Figures 50 and 51

#### APPENDIX H: *Major Inscribed Paintings from Raghugarh*

- 1740 A.D. Two Standing Figures. By Jindu. Anonymous Dealer, Bombay
- ca. 1740 A.D. Portrait of Vikramajit Singh of Raghugarh. By Jindu. The National Museum of India, New Delhi

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# **PLATES**



Plate A A watch-tower at Darah, Kota State



Plate B The hunting grounds at Darab, Kota State



Fig. 1 Todi ragini, from a *Ragamala* series. Painted at Chunar and dated 1591 A.D.  
*The Bharat Kala Bhawan, Benares*



Fig. 2 Malasti ragini, from the same series as Figure 1.  
Stuart C. Welch Collection



Fig. 5 Folio 264r from a *Divan* of Anvari. Mughal, dated 1588 A.D.  
The Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts



Fig. 4 Folio 191 from a *Rameyana* manuscript. Sub-imperial Mughal. Painted for the Khan Khana and dated 1589-98 A.D. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



Fig. 5 Detail of Figure 4



Fig. 6 Detail of Figure 2



Fig. 9 Page, perhaps from a *Gita Govinda* series. Bundi, ca. 1600 A.D.  
The Bharat Kala Bhawan, Benares



Fig. 10 Nata ragini, from a *Ragamala* series. Bundi, early  
seventeenth century. The National Museum of India, New Delhi

مکر دیدار نہ حاصل اصلاحیات بعید بیان یعنی سیم و پنجمی کے ادائش ہوم بیرونیت  
جیہے حالابدیات بیسیت اور انخواں بیلے کے مکار اور میتوں نہ لالا بوش من  
بیرونیت کی تفتیت دیسرے و میوال اعلفان ایشان کیسی میں بینندگی کیا اور  
کاچیلیہ رونکا ہو دیباشت دیسرے و بیندگی کا کہ شو زندگی و فتوحون اتفاق  
لایا جو مجدد افادہ ایہ کہنا کا داشتہ ایہ ایسا چیز کہ اڑائی بیندگی و کوترا  
حوالتہ بدل رہی تھی سو ڈھن ایہ سخنان ائمہ بیندگی کو کہ دیکھت ایہ اسنا دیکھا  
کو ٹوپیو جیسے بیلے است و دام کا ایسا خوش خدا کہ مایا ہمارہ سوہنہ است  
حکمت دیکھی و طوں خلائی و من بیرونیت کو ایسی ایجادہ ایجادہ ماندیدن جنکاری  
کلائشہ بدم و من جس کا کام کر کما کافیکم کنکا مشیش و موارد دیکھو  
ذئں خواہد ایت سے ایشانیدن ایں خصائص سو سوکشہت و مجانبہتہ نہیں ایسی  
رالیکی نکنکہ و بیندگی بمنان ایذا پانچھی جی لیکن سنکہ مکرستہ وفات کو  
جیں بینی کریں ایک کو جو دام برسا دیاخت و دست دیکھو ایتہ ایتہ  
کفت خلاؤنیا تو ایوسینیا کہ بیلے کا قدر قیامت و میلیک کو من بھی  
واعفنا دیکھو کو توکہ ای وادم کو کارہ اعلفان من بھی دلہوستہت کرو  
ایہ عورت ای دو دعا کو خود بس ایچون بساد دعا ای زندگی کیتی المد بھوں



Fig. 7 Page from a *Razm-nama* manuscript. By Fazl. Sub imperial Mughal, dated 1616 A.D. Private Collection.



Fig. 8 Episode from a Hunt. Bundi, ca. 1600 A.D. *Private Collection*



Fig. 11 Court Scene, from a *Bhagavata Purana* series. Bundi, ca. 1640 A.D. The Kota Museum, Kota



Fig. 12 Page from the same manuscript as Figure 7. By Abdullah.  
*Victoria and Albert Museum, London*



Fig. 13 Page from the same manuscript as Figure 11.  
*The Kota Museum, Kota*



Fig. 14 Detail of a page from the same manuscript as Figure 11.  
*The Kota Museum, Kota*



Fig. 15 Detail of a page from a *Salibhadra Caritra* manuscript. By Salivahana. Sub-imperial Mughal, dated 1624 A.D.  
Ranjan Singhi Collection, Calcutta



Fig. 16 Detail from a *vijnapatipatr*. By Salivahana. Painted at Agra and dated 1610 A.D.  
Sri Hamavijayaji Jaina Gyana Bhandar, Baroda



Fig. 17 Couple watching pigeons. Ilundi, dated 1662 A.D. *The Bharat Kala Bhawan, Benares*



Fig. 18 Couple smoking a hookah. Bundi, ca. 1662 A.D. *The Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay*



Fig. 19 Couple embracing, Bundi, ca. 1662 A.D. *The National Museum of India, New Delhi*



Fig. 20 Bhao Singh of Bundi in the *zenana* (harem) garden, Bundi, ca. 1670 A.D. *Stuart C. Welch Collection*



Fig. 21 Ladies in a garden. Bundi, ca. 1680 A. D. *The Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay*



Fig. 22 Krishna holding Mount Govardhan. Bundi, ca. 1680 A.D. *The Bharat Kala Bhawan*, Benares

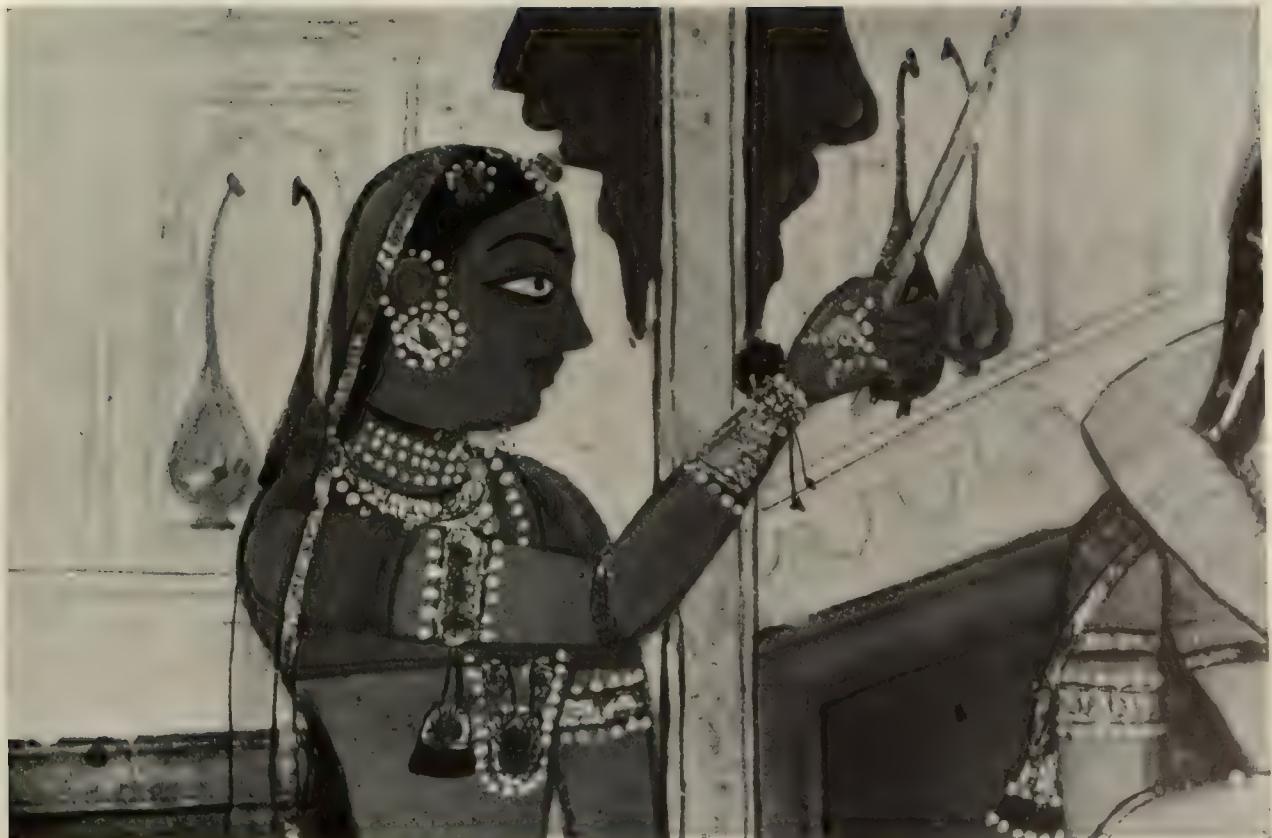


Fig. 23 Detail of Figure 17



Fig. 24 Detail of Figure 20



Fig. 25 Detail of Figure 22



Fig. 26 Couple with attendants. Bundi, dated 1681 A.D. C.D. Gujarati Collection, Bombay



Fig. 27 Kunvar Anurad Singh of Bundi. By Tulchi Ram. Bundi, dated 1680 A.D.  
*The National Museum of India, New Delhi*



Fig. 28 Bhao Singh (?) of Bundi received by a prince. Bundi, ca. 1685 A.D. *The National Museum of India, New Delhi*



Fig. 29 Lovers viewing the new moon. By Mohan. Bundi, dated 1688 A.D. *The Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay*



Fig. 30 Couple in a pavilion. Attributed here to Mohan, Bundi, ca. 1695 A.D. *The Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares*

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## कामादरागनी



Fig. 31 Kamod ragini, from a *Ragamala* series. Bundi, ca. 1650 A.D. *The National Museum of India, New Delhi*



Fig. 32 Vilaval ragini, from a *Ragamala* series. Bundi, ca. 1680 A.D. Formerly Stuart C. Welch Collection



Fig. 33 Malastri ragini, from a *Ragamala* series. Probably Bundi, ca. 1660 A.D. The British Museum, London



Fig. 34. Chhattar Sal of Bundi. Probably Bundi, ca. 1650 A.D. *Private Collection*



Fig. 35 The murder of Maharana Ar Singh of Udaipur by Ajit Singh of Bundi. Bundi, ca. 1772 A.D.  
*The National Museum of India, New Delhi*



Fig. 36 Detail of Figure 22



Fig. 37 Detail of Figure 35



Fig. 38 Detail of a page from a *Ramayana* series. Unara, ca. 1760 A.D. (Other pages from the series are reproduced in Figures 39-51). Rao Raja Rajendra Singh Collection, Unara



Fig. 39 Umed Singh of Bundi with his sons. Bundi, ca. 1765 A. D. *Stuart C. Welch Collection*



Fig. 40 Ladies hunting boar, Bundi, ca. 1760 A.D. *Private Collection*



Fig. 41 Page from a *Ragamala* series. Bundi, ca. 1760 A.D. *The National Museum of India, New Delhi*

॥ यत्तदेव दामाना लोकै यत्प्राणां प्राप्तं च ॥ १३  
प्राप्तं सुपुर्वे भवति विश्वारोगे यत् ॥ यत्प्राप्तं लोकै विश्वारोगे यत् ॥ १४  
प्राप्तं प्रभुरेषं विश्वारोगे यत् ॥ यत्प्राप्तं लोकै विश्वारोगे यत् ॥ १५  
वर्णसंबद्धं विश्वारोगे यत् ॥ यत्प्राप्तं लोकै विश्वारोगे यत् ॥ १६  
यत् ॥ १७ ॥ यत्प्राप्तं लोकै विश्वारोगे यत् ॥ यत्प्राप्तं लोकै विश्वारोगे यत् ॥ १८  
यत् ॥ यत्प्राप्तं लोकै विश्वारोगे यत् ॥ यत्प्राप्तं लोकै विश्वारोगे यत् ॥ १९  
यत् ॥ यत्प्राप्तं लोकै विश्वारोगे यत् ॥ यत्प्राप्तं लोकै विश्वारोगे यत् ॥ २०  
यत् ॥ यत्प्राप्तं लोकै विश्वारोगे यत् ॥ यत्प्राप्तं लोकै विश्वारोगे यत् ॥ २१  
यत् ॥ यत्प्राप्तं लोकै विश्वारोगे यत् ॥ यत्प्राप्तं लोकै विश्वारोगे यत् ॥ २२



Fig. 42 Page from a *Ragamala* series. By Dalu. Painted at Nandgaon, Kota, and dated 1766-68 A.D.  
*Sarawati Bhendar, Udaipur*



Fig. 43 Portrait of the painter Kaciram, Bundi, ca. 1760 A.D. The National Museum of India, New Delhi



Fig. 44 View of the wall-paintings *in situ*. *Rang Vilas*, *Bundi Palace*  
(Photograph courtesy of Joan Mitchell Worswick)

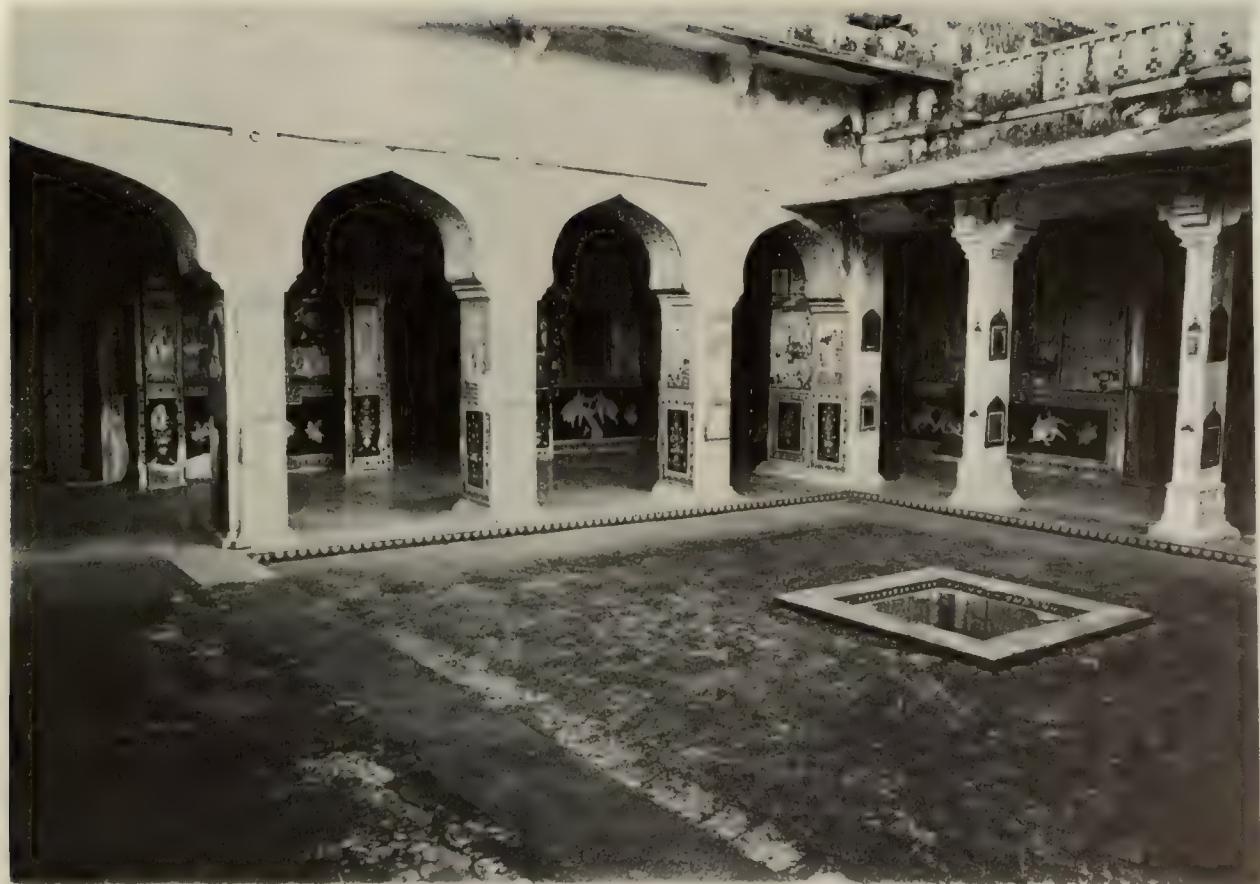


Fig. 45 View of the courtyard and wall-paintings. *Rang Vilas*, *Bundi Palace*  
(Photograph courtesy of Joan Mitchell Worswick)



Fig. 46 Court scene. Wall-painting in the *Rang Vilas*, *Bundi Palace*. Late eighteenth century



Fig. 47 The lover's arrival. Wall-painting in the *Rang Vilas*, *Bundi Palace*. Ca. 1790 A.D., with later retouching



Fig. 48 Rao Raja Sardar Singh of Unniara and his son at worship. Frontispiece to a *Bhagavata Purana* manuscript.  
By Mira Bagas. Painted at Unniara and dated 1759 A.D. Rao Raja Rajendra Singh Collection, Unniara

दयः खगमुगः सद्यावलोकीर्गेष्योंतरेणनुज्योरपियमस्त्रीः ८ शुलशीरुधश्चतवपादौस्थांतीतितयाकर  
 जाभिसृष्टा॒ः नवैः स्मृष्टा॑ः सद्यैवलोकनैः शीरपियस्मैस्त्रयतिकेवलंतेननुज्योरंतरेणवह्यसागोप्योपभाइ  
 ति व॑ एवंहंदावनंश्रीमत्कृष्णः धीतमनाः पश्चन् रेमेसंचारयन्नदेः महिदोपस्तुसानुगः ९ एवंश्रीमहंदावनं



तिप्रीतः सनश्चदेः सभीपवर्जिसरिन्नटेषुपश्चन्संचारयन् सानुगः धीतमनदेमेतामेवरतिमाहददग्निः १० कृतिगायज्ञुमहांधालिष्ठनुबतैः उपगीयमानचरितः त्वदीसंकर्षणान्वितः ११ कर्जितकलहसानामनुकूजति  
 कूनितं अजिनृत्यतिनृत्यतं वर्हिण्णहसयन्नकृचित् १२ वर्हिण्णनृत्यतं तमनुभवित्वर्हिण्णभवित्वर्हिण्णभवित्वमुखोनृत्यतं

Fig. 49 Page from the same series as Figure 48. Rao Raja Rajendra Singh Collection, Unjara



Fig. 50 Page from a *Ramayana* series. Uniara, ca. 1760–80 A. D. Rao Raja Rajendra Singh Collection, Uniara



Fig. 51 Page from the same series as Figure 50. Rao Raja Rajendra Singh Collection, Unaria



Fig. 52 Bishen Singh of Unjara. Unjara, ca. 1780 A.D. Kumar Sangram Singh of Navalgarh Collection



Fig. 53 Kunvar Maha Singh of Uniara hunting, Uniara, ca. 1770 A.D. Rao Raja Rajendra Singh Collection, Uniara



Fig. 54 Utka nayika (woman waiting for her lover). Attributed here to Mira Bagas, Unjana, ca. 1760 A.D.  
*Stuart C. Welch Collection*



Fig. 55 Kunvar Jaswant Singh of Unjara with his *zenana*. Unjara, ca. 1760 A.D. *The National Museum of India, New Delhi*



Fig. 56 Rama, Sita, Lakshman and Hanuman. Frontispiece to a *Padmapurana* series. Attributed here to Mira Bagas.  
Unaria, dated 1745 A.D. Formerly Stuart C. Welch Collection



Fig. 57 Kunvar Maha Singh of Unara with his genana. Wall-painting from the *Jagat Sriromanj Temple*, *Unara town*.  
Ca. 1760 A.D.



Fig. 58 Wall-painting from the *Jagat Sriromanj Temple*, *Unara town*. Ca. 1760 A.D.



Fig. 59 Bishen Singh of Unara. Wall-painting in the *Palace*, *Unara*. Ca. 1800 A.D.



Fig. 60 Ram Singh I of  
Kota hunting at Mukundgarh,  
Kota, ca. 1693 A.D.  
*Private Collection*



Fig. 61 Detail of Figure 60



Fig. 62 Malava raga, from a *Ragamala* series. Kota, ca. 1660 A.D. Present location unknown



Fig. 63 Vilaval ragini, from a *Ragamala* series. Kota, ca. 1680 A.D. Kunvar Sangram Singh of Navalgarh Collection



Fig. 64 Detail of Figure 62



Fig. 65 Detail of Figure 63



Fig. 66 Detail of Figure 52



Fig. 67 Detail of Figure 60



Fig. 68 Jagat Singh of Kota with his *genana*. Kota, ca. 1670 A.D. Gopi Krishna Kanoria Collection, Patna



Fig. 69 Jagat Singh of Kota. Kota, ca. 1670 A.D. *Ralph Benkaim Collection, Beverly Hills*

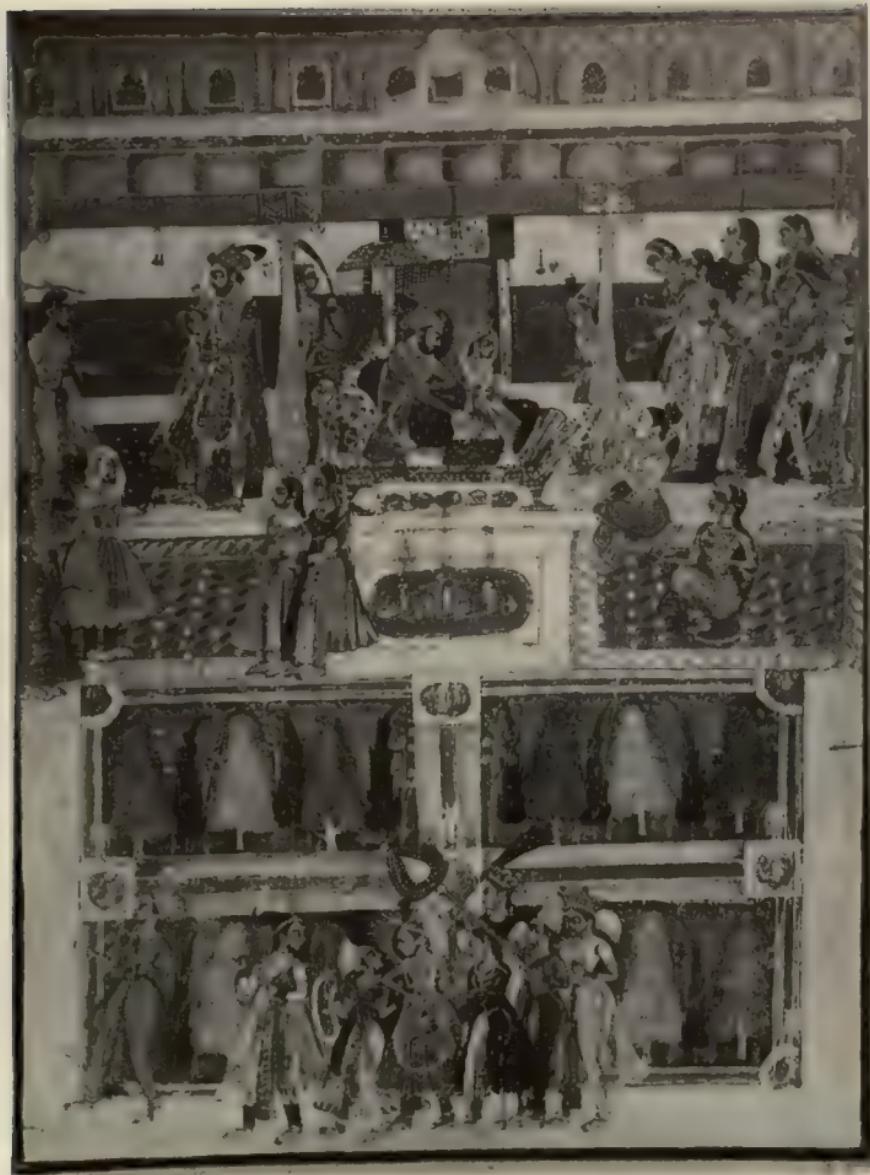


Fig. 70 Prince in the *genana*. Kota, ca. 1675 A.D. Kumar Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh Collection



Fig. 71 Ram Singh I (?) of Kota pursuing a rhinoceros. Kota, ca. 1705 A.D. Private Collection

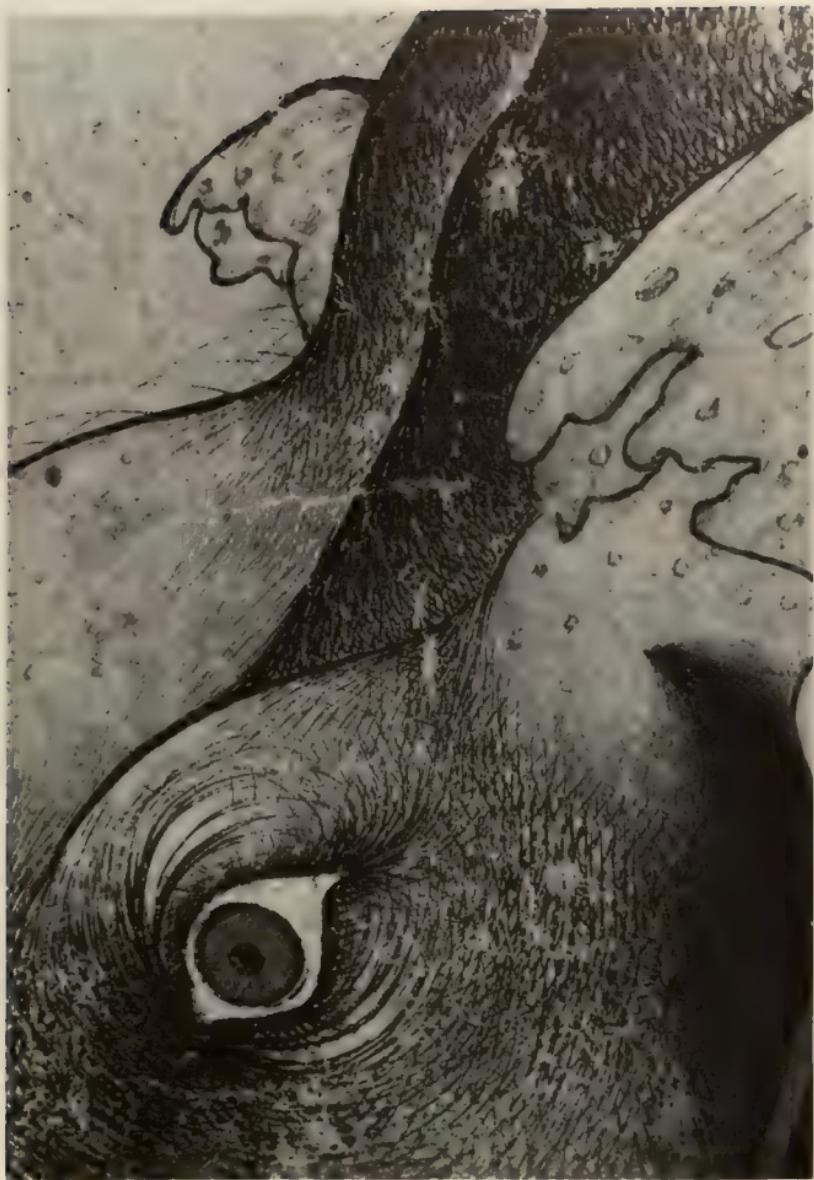


Fig. 72 Detail of Figure 71.



Fig. 75 Raja pursuing a rhinoceros. Drawing based on Figure 71. Kota, ca. 1750 A.D. *Private Collection*.



Fig. 74 Raja pursuing a rhinoceros. Wall-painting in *Chattar Mabal*, Kota Palace, based on Figure 71. Ca. 1750 A.D.

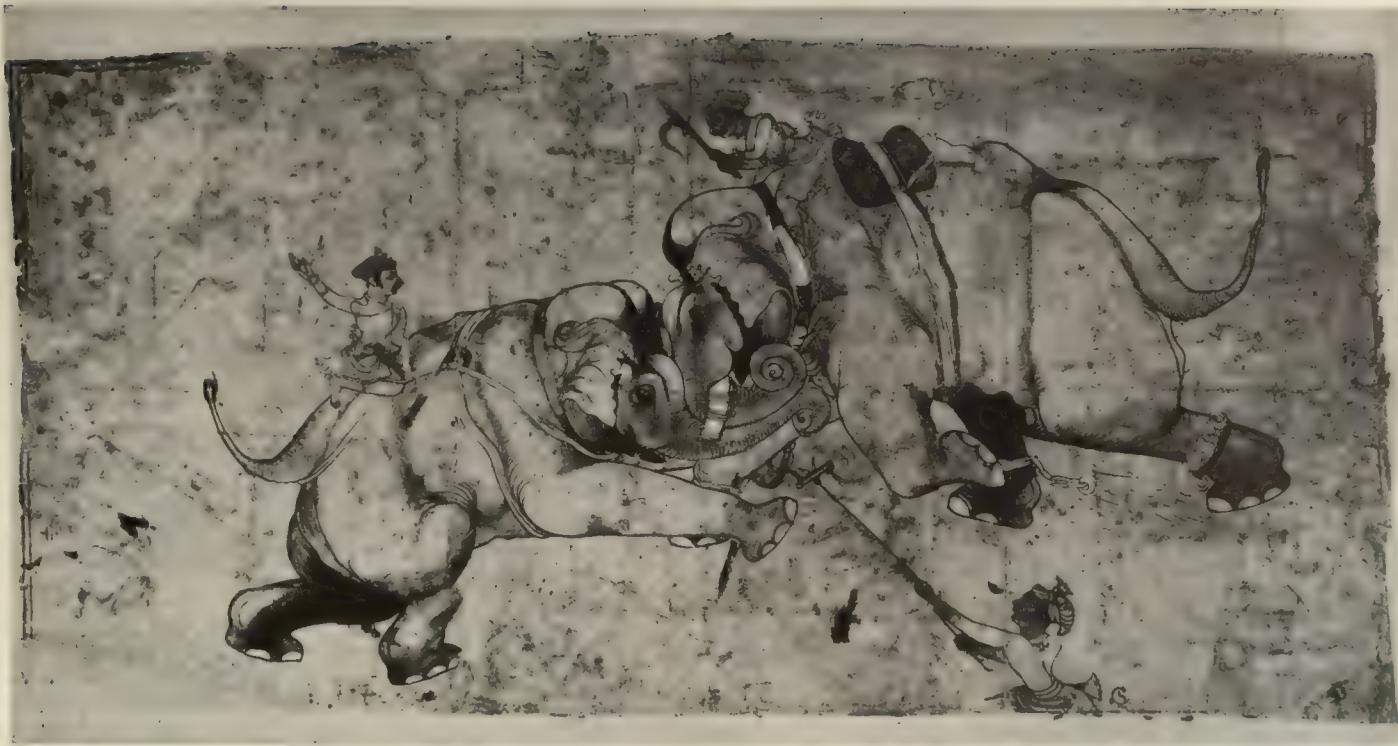


Fig. 75 Elephants battling, Kota, ca. 1695 A.D. Howard Hodgkin Collection, London

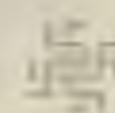




Fig. 76 Detail from a battle scene.  
Kota, ca. 1705 A.D.  
*Private Collection*

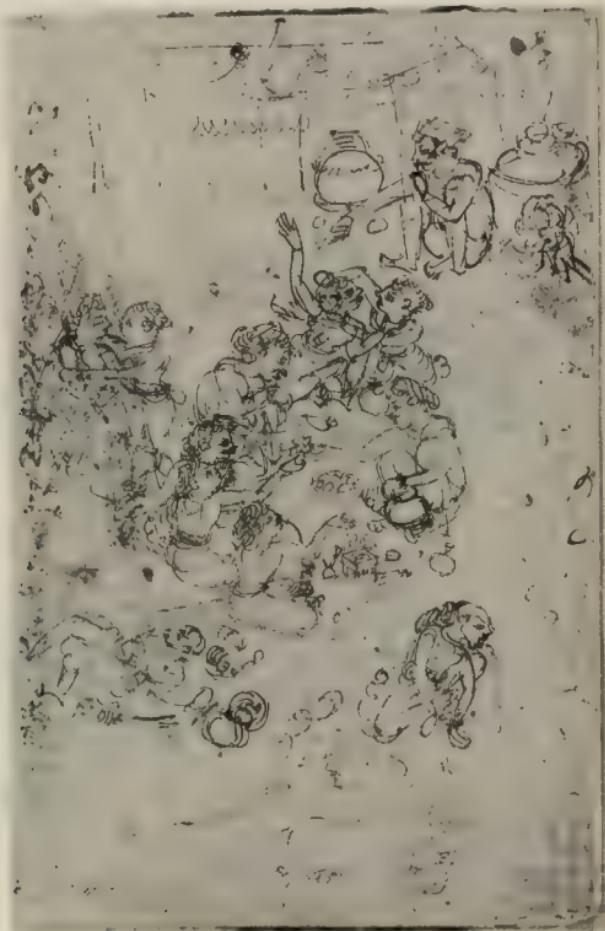


Fig. 77 Feast, Kota, ca. 1705 A.D.  
*Private Collection*

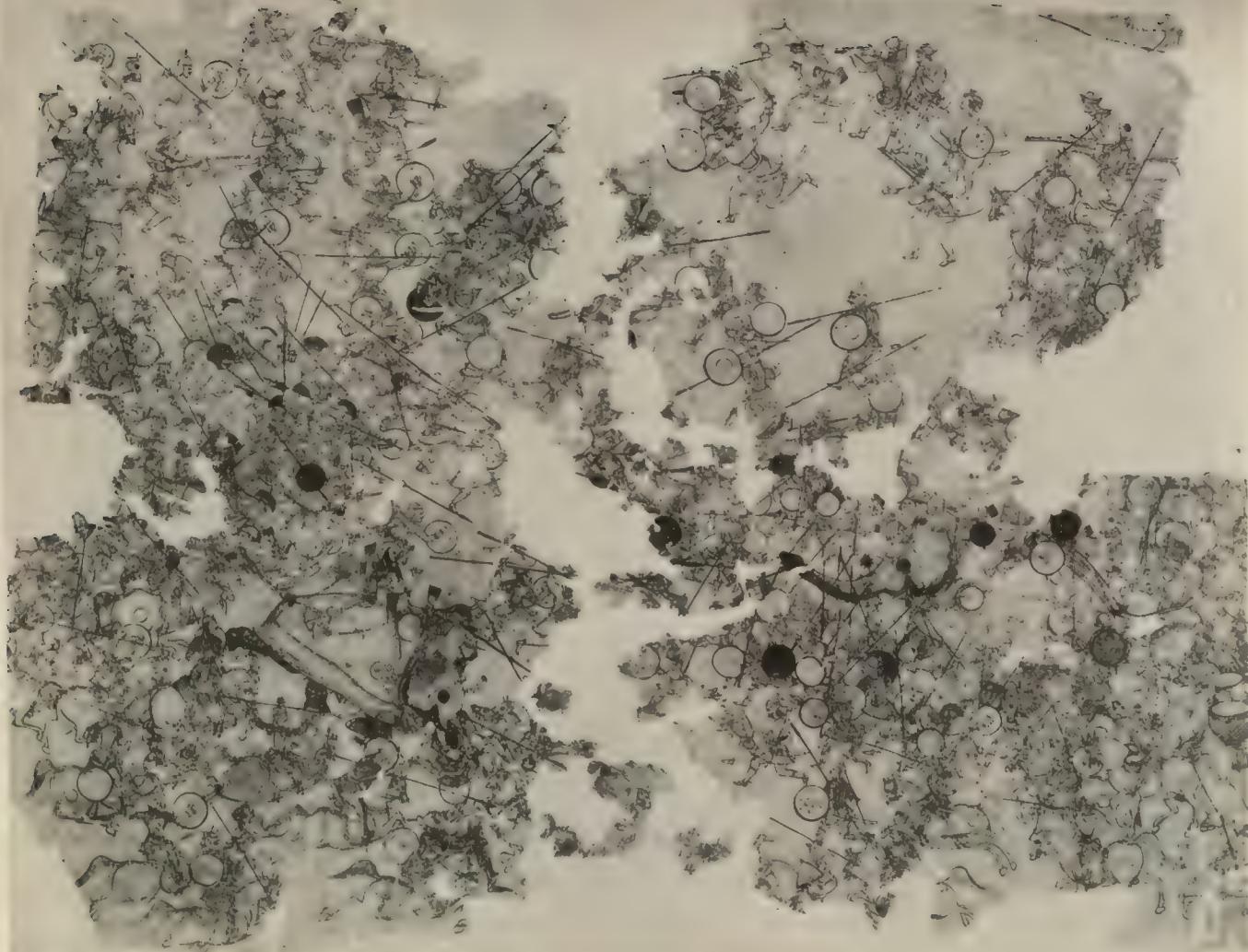


Fig. 78 Battle Scene. Kota, ca. 1690 A.D. Private Collection



Fig. 79 Detail of Figure 78



Fig. 80 Subduing an elephant. Sawar (?), ca. 1670 A.D. Private Collection

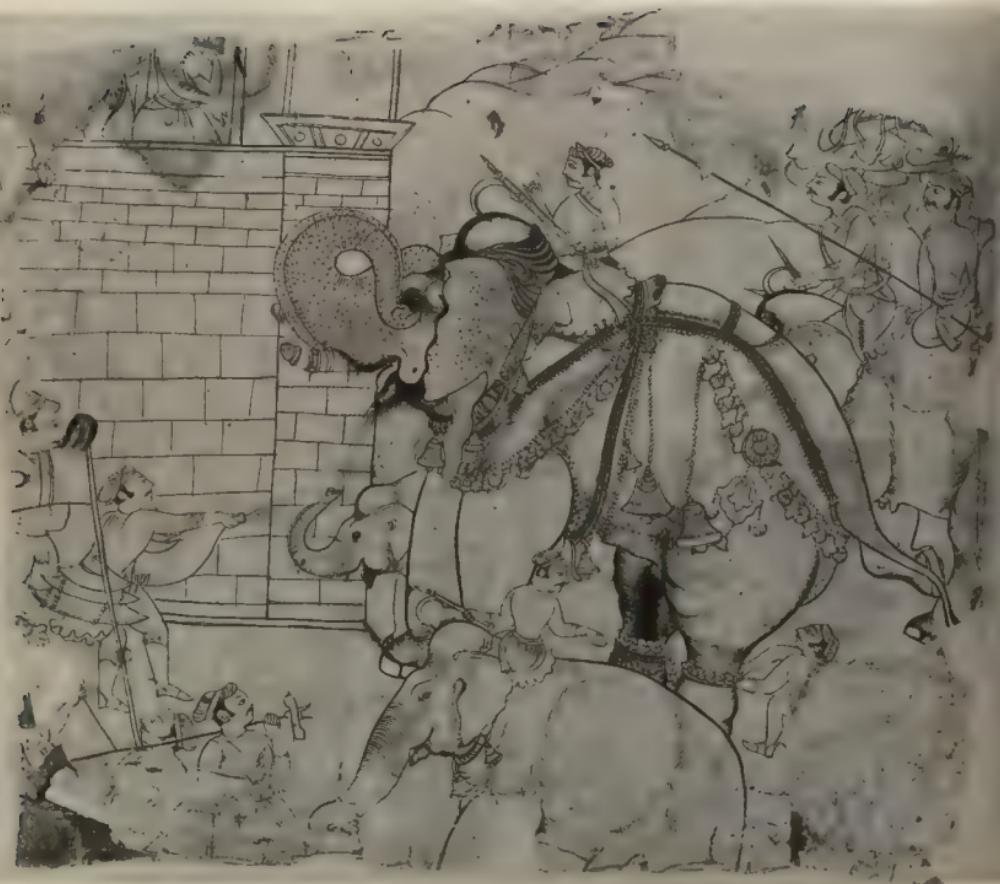


Fig. 8: Elephant preparing for combat. Sawar (?), ca. 1680 A.D. *Private Collection*



Fig. 82. Chattar Sal of Kota in procession. Kota, ca. 1760 A.D. *Severance Millikan Collection, Cleveland*



Fig. 83 Vishnu-Narasimha, from a *Bhagavata Purana* series. Kota, ca. 1760 A.D. Private Collection



Fig. 87 Detail of Figure 86.



Fig. 84 Arjun Singh of Kota inspecting a horse. Kota, ca. 1720 A.D. *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*



Fig. 85 Pancham ragini, from a *Ragamala* series. Kota, ca. 1740 A.D. *Private Collection*



Fig. 86 Bhoj Singh of Bundi slays a lion. Kota, ca. 1740 A.D. *Stuart C. Weitz Collection*

यत्त्वं च लैज्जुत्तमका ॥ मवदीया ॥ किधोश्वदकामुकि न वटनमया ममा वृक्षी  
 केतुश्वामुब्रजवामुरीविनानत्ता ॥ दिनननमाधुक्ककाह्लसानयाविरोधु नयन्नप्र  
 वाखुकिधोउरञ्जवानत्ते ॥ सुषमेनदेज्जकिधमावीभाक्षण्टनज्जकिधादिमे  
 कुञ्जनित्तरेअधगनत्ते ॥ किधामरीष्णातिकाप्रतातिलितकेमागङ्गञ्जनामन  
 मुधाकानवानत्ते ॥ २० ॥ "



Fig. 88 Page from a *Rasikapriya* series. Kota, ca. 1750 A.D. The National Museum of India, New Delhi



Fig. 89 Chattar Sal of Kota with members of the court. Kota, dated 1764 A.D. Kunvar Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh Collection



Fig. 90 Zalim Singh. Detail of Figure 89



Fig. 91 Durjan Sal of Kota hunting. Kota, dated 1778 A.D. *The Victoria and Albert Museum, London*



Fig. 92 Krishna (or Rama) hunting by night. By Bhimsen. Kots, dated 1781 A.D. *Stuart C. Welch Collection*



Fig. 93 Hunting near Kaithun, Kota, dated 1786 A.D. *The Maharaja of Kota*



Fig. 94 Ram Singh II of Kota watching a bather. Kota, ca. 1828 A.D. *Private Collection*

॥ प्रृथग गीर व्यंगि हे ॥ चिनु कच्छ वीली बात वह त्यैलो  
नहि वत राशा ऊष मङ्ग धियूष की ॥ तौलो नूष ना ।  
जाद्धा ॥ इतीका उक्ति जाइ क सौख्य तिकरति  
त्वै नाइ काकी मिला इवै के लियो ॥ वर्णिरेकालं कार



Fig. 95 Page from a *Sat Sai* of Bihari manuscript. Kota, ca. 1800 A.D. *The Bharat Kala Bhawan, Benares*



Fig. 96 Lady bathing. Kota, ca. 1820 A.D. Formerly Stuart C. Welch Collection



Fig. 97 Detail of Figure 96



Fig. 98 Detail of Figure 101



Fig. 99 Snake charmer. Kota, ca. 1790 A.D. *The Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay*



Fig. 100 Nata ragini, from a *Ragamala* series. Kota, ca. 1775 A.D. *The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*



Fig. 101 Ram Singh II of Kota at Gangore festival. Kota, dated 1835 A.D. *Stuart C. Welch Collection*



Fig. 102 Ladies hunting. Kota, ca. 1810 A.D. *The Cleveland Museum of Art, J. H. Wade Collection, Cleveland, Ohio*



Fig. 103 Ram Singh II of Kota hunting. Kota, ca. 1840 A.D. Gopi Krishna Kanoria Collection, Patna



Fig. 104 Two princes riding to a *mela* (fair). Kota, dated 1888 A.D.  
Private Collection

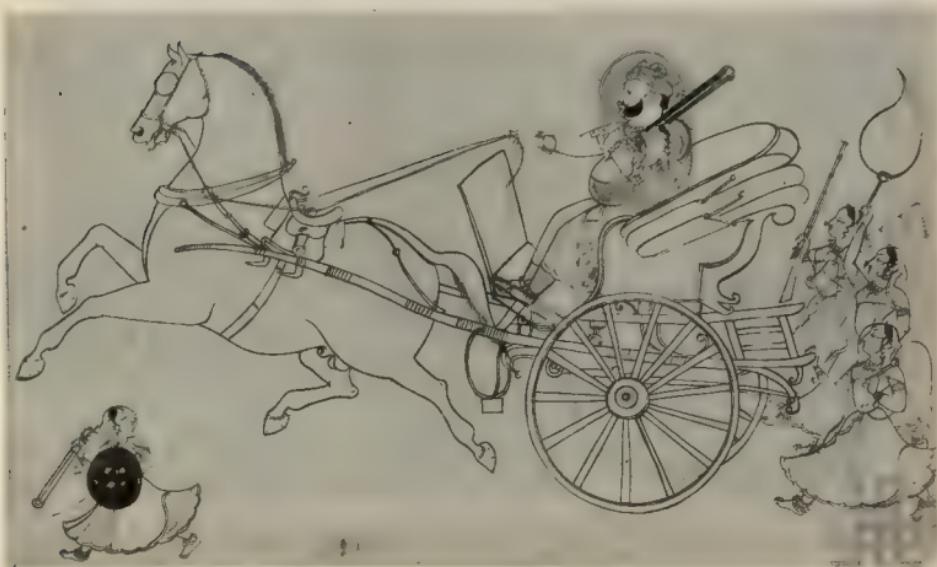


Fig. 106 Ram Singh II of Kota in an English carriage. Kota, ca. 1840 A.D. Private Collection



Fig. 105 Scenes from the life of Vishnu. Kota, mid-nineteenth century. *The Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay*



Fig. 107 Two Englishmen, Kota, ca. 1850 A.D.  
*Private Collection*



Fig. 109 A snarling woman, Kota, ca. 1840 A.D. *Private Collection*



Fig. 108 A youth, Kota, ca. 1840 A.D. *Private Collection*



Fig. 110 Study of hands, Kota, ca. 1840 A.D. *Private Collection*



Fig. 111 Hunting scene. Wall-painting in the *Bara Mabal*, *Kota Palace*. Ca. 1780 A.D.

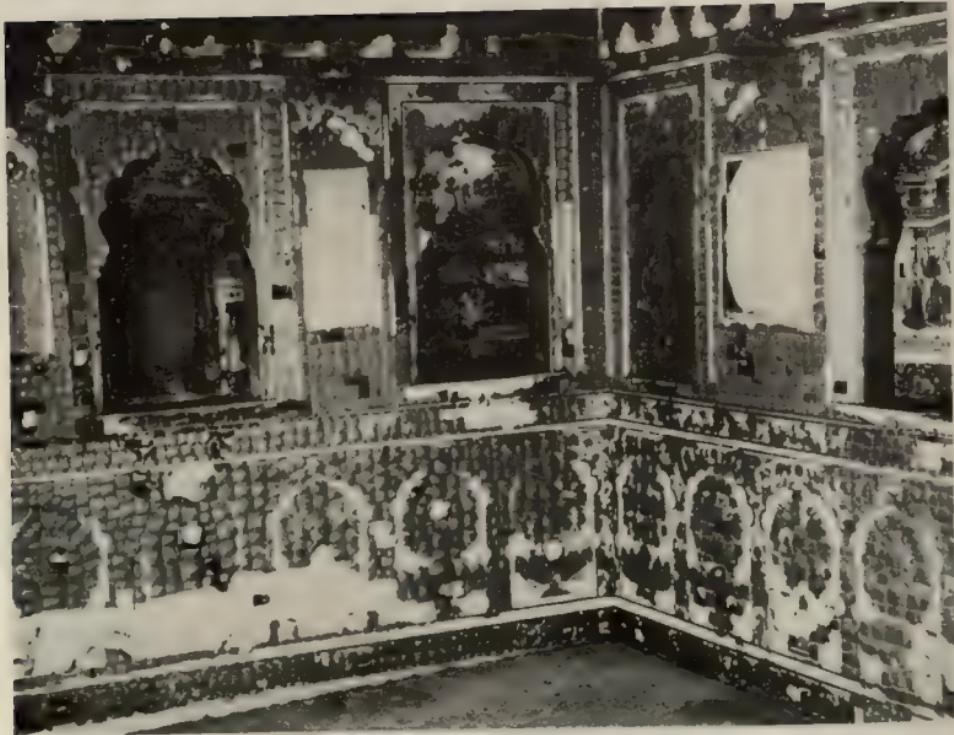


Fig. 112 View of the wall-paintings *in situ*. *Jbala House, Kota*



Fig. 113 Lady with attendants. Wall-painting in *Jhala House*, Kota. Ca. 1780 A.D.



Fig. 114 Hunting scene. Wall-painting in *Chhattar Mahal*, *Kota Palace*. Ca. 1750 A.D.



Fig. 115 Detail of Figure 114. (See also Figure 74)



Fig. 116 Krishna worship. Wall-painting in *Chhattar Mahal*, *Kota Palace*. Ca. 1750 A.D.



Fig. 117 Detail of the wall-paintings in *Raj Mahal*, *Kota Palace*. Ca. 1870 A.D.

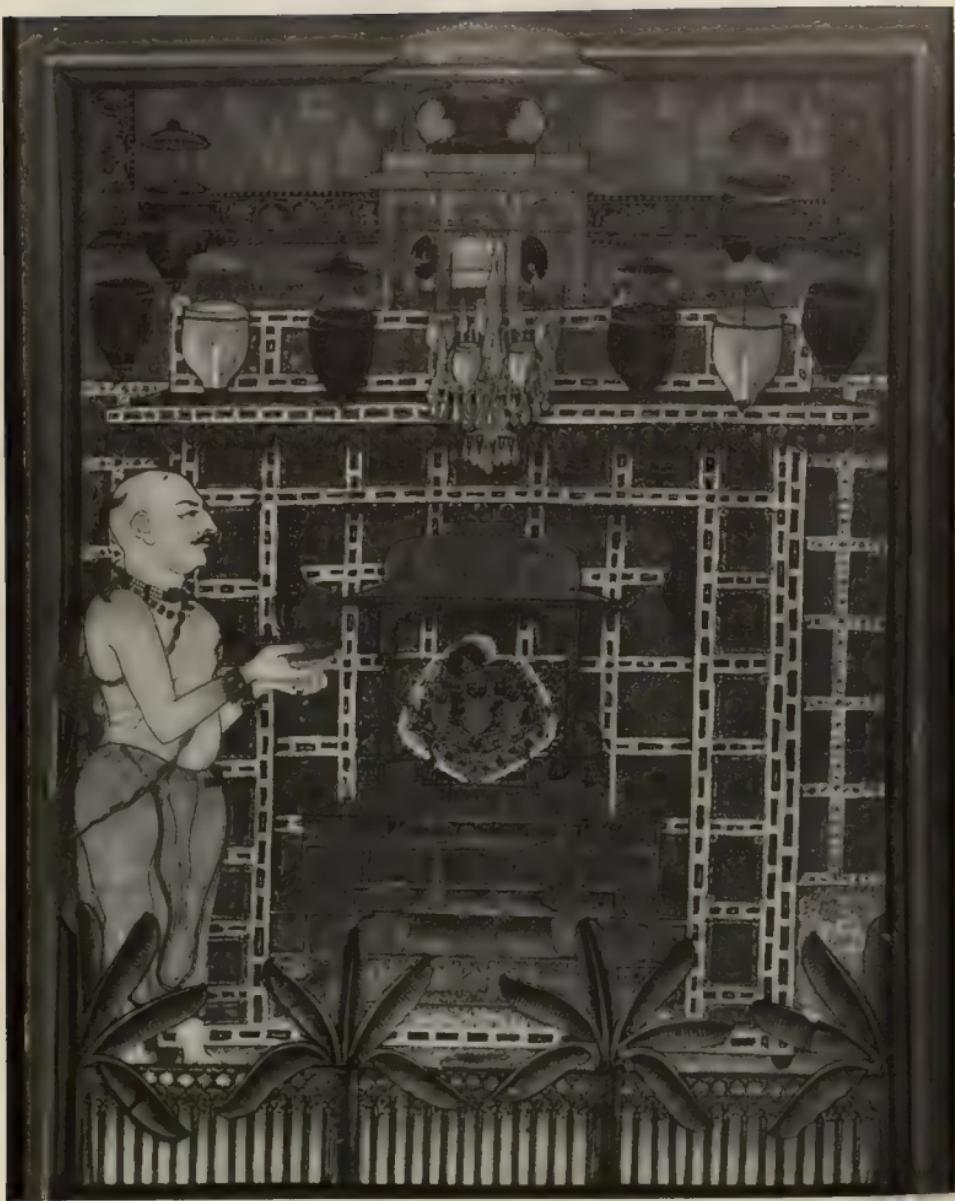


Fig. 118 Brahmin worshipping Krishna-nathji. Kota, ca. 1840 A.D. *Private Collection*

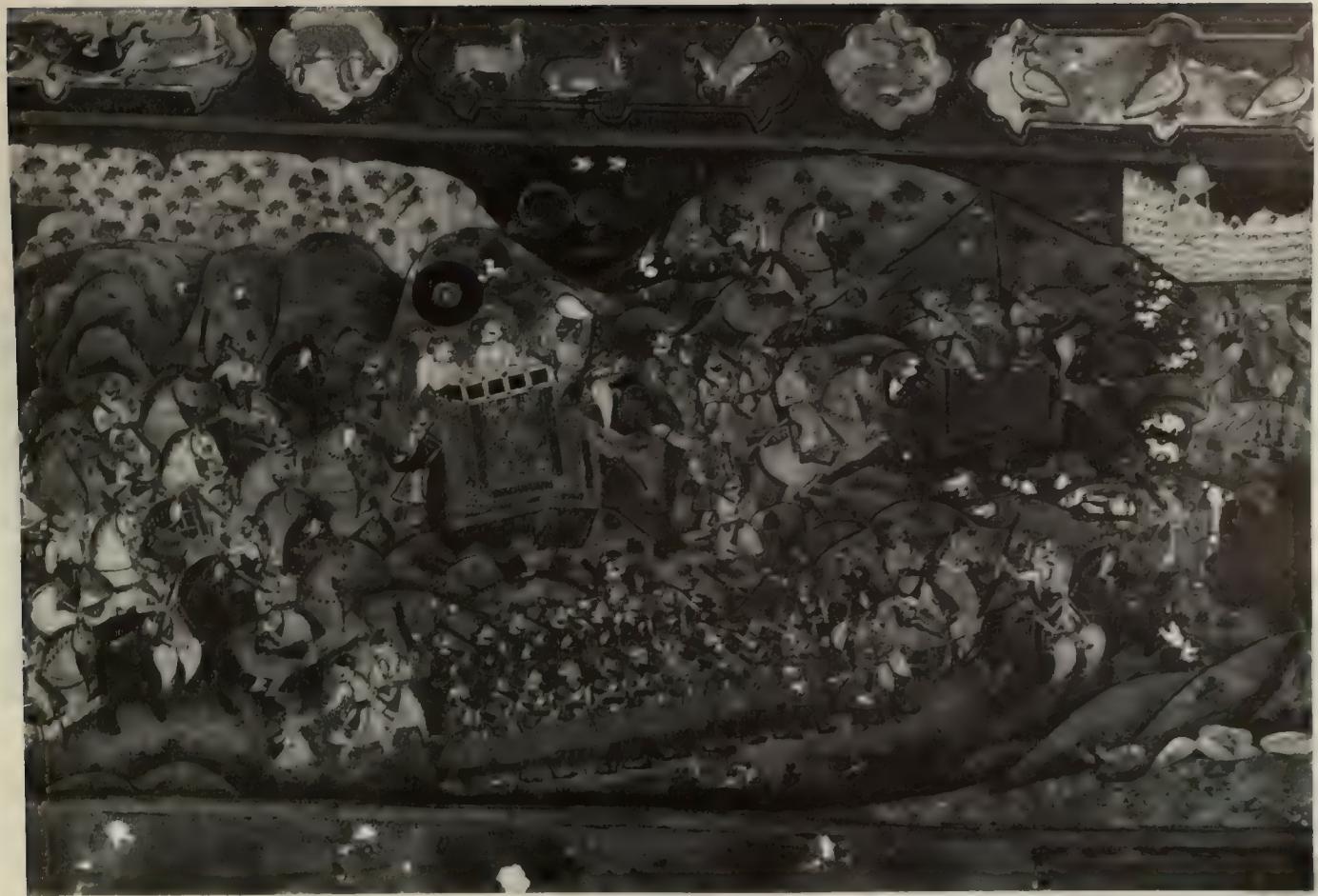


Fig. 119 Processional Scene. Wall-painting in *Bara Mabal*, *Kota Palace*. Ca. 1828 A.D.



Fig. 120 Balabhadra Singh of Raghubarh listening to music, Raghubarh, ca. 1770 A.D. *The National Museum of India, New Delhi*



Fig. 121 Vikramajit Singh of Raghubarh. By Jindu, Raghubarh, ca. 1750 A.D. *The National Museum of India, New Delhi*



Fig. 122 Balwant Singh of Raghugarh with Kunvar Jai Singh. Raghugarh, ca. 1780 A.D. *The National Museum of India, New Delhi*



Fig. 123 Vasanta ragini, from a *Ragamala* series. Raghugarh, ca. 1790 A.D.  
*The National Museum of India, New Delhi*



Fig. 124 Page from an *Aniruddha-Usha* series. Raghugarh, ca. 1775 A.D. *The National Museum of India, New Delhi*



Fig. 125 Maharsja Prabh Singh. Provenance unknown. Ca. 1770 A.D. *Private Collection*

मादामणा श्री राजारथी रीवांडे



Fig. 126 Two Elephants Fighting. By Niju. Kota, dated 1725 A.D. *The State Museum, Lucknow*

गण॥२६॥ २६॥ २७॥ करिनोजनकेयोयेकगा॥ आल्यापासासासिसोगतः॥ स  
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 गावोलेनीयो॥ २९॥ २९॥ कथाकनकत्तमकलदले॥ दोषपषसधि कलंपंग चाहे म  
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 ग्रासायत्पर  
 गोवर्णिगता  
 गीनवेयम  
 गुणावल  
 गुच्छनोम्या  
 गुवाहट  
 गुरुवालि॥



Fig. 127 Page from a *Dhola-Maru* series. Kota, dated 1762 A.D. The Saraswati Bhawan, Udaipur



Fig. 128 Processional Portrait of Durjan Sal of Kota. Kota, dated 1771 A.D. *Collection of Jagdish Mittal, Hyderabad*



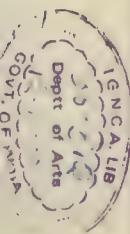
Fig. 129 Hunting Scene. By Hans Raj Joshi. Kota, dated 1777 A.D. Kunvar Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh Collection



Fig. 130 Hunting Scene. By Gumani. Kota, dated 1779 A.D. Kunvar Sangram Singh of Navalgarh Collection



Fig. 131 Hunting Scene. By Man, son of Sheikh Taju. Kota, ca. 1780 A.D. Kunvar Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh Collection



J. M. NANAVATI and M. A. DHAKY  
*Department of Archaeology, Gujarat State, India*

# THE MAITRAKA AND THE SAINDHAVA TEMPLES OF GUJARAT



Plate 8 Spire, Old temple, Gop

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The two authors collaborated as members of the Department of Archaeology of Gujarat State. Mr. Nanavati is the Department's Assistant Director; Mr. Dhaky is now a staff member of the American Academy at Benares.



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by Annette L.Juliano



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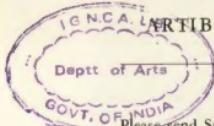
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